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THE  
**PUNJAB SANSKRIT SERIES,**  
**No. ONE.**

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THE  
PUNJAB SANSKRIT SERIES

OR

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SANSKRIT WORKS

EDITED BY

THE WELL-KNOWN AND EMINENT SCHOLARS

OF

INDIA, EUROPE AND AMERICA

No I

LAHORE (INDIA)

THE PUNJAB SANSKRIT BOOK DEPOT  
1921



# \* बार्हस्पत्य सूत्रम् \*

अर्थात्

## ॥ बार्हस्पत्य अर्थशास्त्रम् ॥ BRIHASPATI SUTRA

OR

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL  
OF BRIHASPATI

EDITED WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

DR F W THOMAS, M A,  
LIBRARIAN, INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY, LONDON

### THE DEVANAGARI TEXT

REPAVED FROM

HIS EDITION (IN ROMAN SCRIPT),

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND INDEXES

BY

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PUBLISHED BY

MOTI LAL BANARSI DASS,

PROPRIETORS

The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore  
1921

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LAHORE

PRINTED BY BHAIRO PRASADA AT THE "VIDYA PRAKASA" PRESS.

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॥ ओ३म् ॥

विश्वानि देव सविर्तर्दुरितानि परासुव । यद्गद्वं तत्र आसुव ॥

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

### 1 ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN POLITY

The Aīthīshāstas have been in existence in Arīyavartī as a separate literature from very early times. The superiority of Dharmashastas over Aīthīshāstas is referred to in the Smṛti ascribed to Yājñavalkya in the following shloka -

स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायरु वलवान्यवहारतः ।

अर्थशास्त्रात् वलवद्दर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥२२१॥

The same is said in the Bhārata Purāna as quoted in the Apūrva -

स्मृत्येन विरोधे तु अर्थशास्त्रस्य वाधनम् ॥

Añvita Smṛti also remarks in the same way —

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामविरोधेन यतः ।

संपश्यमानो निषुण व्यवहारगति नयेत् ॥

यत्र विश्विपत्तिः स्याद्दर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।

अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सुज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥२१३७३८॥

In his well-known Aīthīshāstī, Kauṭilya (not later than 3rd century B.C.) says that a literature bearing this title was extant in his days, and that he compiled his treatise after seeing the works of his predecessors. His words are —

पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः

प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृतैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।

(Second edition, p 1)

Not only Kautilya, but also works anterior to him refer to this literature. In *Caranayûha* the forty-ninth *Ushishtha* of the *Atharvaveda* we read —

तत्र ऋग्वेदस्यार्थशास्त्रमुपवेदः ।

ब्रह्मवेदस्यायुर्वेदोपवेदः ।

अभिचारकार्यशास्त्रमित्युच्यते ॥ ४ ॥

This second view that the Aîthashâstria is the paveda of Rigveda is held in the *Caranayûha* ascribed *Shaunaka*

वेदानामुपवेदाश्वत्वारो भवन्ति ।

अर्थवेदस्य 'अर्थशास्त्रम्' । ( चतुर्थः खण्डः ) ।

It is clear then that Aîthashâstria claims a great antiquity in the history of Sanskrit literature.

### BRIHASPATI AND HIS ARTHASHASTRA

*Pancatantri* (*textus simplior* 1. th century A D according to Dr J Hertel) has a reference to a nîti axiom of Brihaspati

सुकृतं विष्णुगुप्तस्य मित्राभिर्भाग्वस्य च ।

बृहस्पतेरविश्वासो\* नीतिसन्धिक्षिधा स्थितः ॥२४॥

Bhoja in his *Yuktikalpaṭaru* (11th century A D) while referring to the nîti literature says —

\*Compare with this the teaching of Mahâbhârata —

विश्वासयेत्पराश्रैव निश्चसेज्ज न कस्यचित् ।

पुत्रेष्वपि हि राजेन्द्र विश्वासो न प्रशस्यते ॥

अविश्वासो नरेन्द्रणां गुह्यं परममुच्यते ॥महा०शा०८५।३।३४॥

नीतिवृहस्पतिप्रोक्ता तथैवौशनसीपरा ।

उभयोरभिरुद्धात्र निरूप्या नीतिरुत्तमा ॥ p,2

Ashvaghosha in his *Buñaha Carita* (about first century A.D.) has remarked about Brihaspati —

यद्राजशास्त्रं भृगुरङ्गिरा वा न चरुर्बशराटषी तौ ।

तयोः मुतौ तौ च स सर्जतु स्वाद रक्षालेन शुक्रश्च वृहस्पतिश्च ॥ १ । ४६ ॥

The well-known *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana not only refer to Brihaspati as the compiler of an *Aīthashāstria* but state that he lived about the beginning of creation. The whole account runs thus —

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजाः सृष्टा तासा स्थितिनिवन्धनं त्रिवर्गस्य  
साधनमध्यायाना शतसहस्रणाण्ये प्रोत्वाच ॥ ५ ॥

तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः स्यायभुवो धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक्चकार ॥ ६ ॥  
वृहस्पतिर्थायिकारिकम् ॥ ७ ॥

Bhasa also refers to a Bārhaspatya *Aīthashāstria* in his *Pratimā Nātaka* —

रावणः—“ काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्मि साङ्गोपाङ्ग वेदमधीये, मानवीय  
धर्मशास्त्रं, माहेश्वरं योगशास्त्रं, वर्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रं, मेधातिथेन्याय-  
शास्त्रं, प्राचेतस श्राद्धकल्पं च । ” प्रतिमा नाटक p, 79

The Mahābhārata has the following to say on this point —

नीति वृहस्पतिप्रोक्तं भ्रातृन्मेऽग्राहयत्पुरा । वन० ३ २१६ १ ॥

So we know that the Bārhaspatya Shāstria claims a great antiquity in the history of Aryan literature.

### III THE ORIGINAL WORK OF BRIHASPATI

The question now arises, as to whether the original work of Brihaspati was composed in verse or *śāstras*

or in the mixed style. No doubt some sūtīa literature along with gāthā and other works, was extant even before the time of the compilation of the Brāhmaṇas because the Śatapithī Brāhmaṇa (सत्पिठी ब्राह्मण का० १४ अ० ७ श्रा० ३ का० ११) alludes to it, but it is not sure whether it had come into vogue at times as early as those of Swāyambhava Manu and Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of India.

#### IV MANAVA DHARMA SHASTRA

Scholars like Max Müller and Buhler held that the Dharmashāstra of Manu was originally a composition in the mixed style of sūtras and shlokas. Buhler tried his best to put forward this theory with such proofs as he could gather. One of his strongest proofs was a passage मानवं सूत्रमुद्दाहरन्ति which he found in Vāstula Dharmashāstra. Now it is sure that the original work of Manu had passed through the hand of several editors, as for example Bṛigu, Nārada etc., when it reached the compiler of Vāstula Dharmashāstra. The views of the Mānavas represented in this Arthashāstra differ widely from the Smṛiti of Manu. It is, therefore, evident that the school consisted of authors who differed greatly. It was this great difference which troubled Buhler very much when he could find no reason as to why the teachings of the Smṛiti differed from the Mānava Grihya Sūtīa. The whole of sūtīa literature of the Mānava school came into existence after the Mānava carna had been established, and hence

we can safely conclude that the original Smriti of Manu was purely in verse

As quoted by Bahler on the authority of Nârada, we know that the original work of Manu began with a verse (shloka, as Nârada says) On the other hand all works in sūtia or the mixed style begin almost with a sūtia

Agum Dhani napada (crica 4th century B C ) has two verses which are only a Pali version with some change of words of the text of Manu Smriti

अभिवादनशीउस्य नित्यवृद्धो-  
पसेविन । चत्तारि तस्य वर्धन्ता  
आयुर्विद्या यथोब्रह्म ॥२१२५॥

न तेन वृद्धो भवति येनास्य  
पलित शिर । यो वै युवाप्यधीयान-  
स्त देवा स्वरित विदु ॥२१५६॥

अभिव दन् तीजस्स नित्यं वद्धाप-  
चायिनो । चत्तारोधम्मा बङ्गदन्ति  
आयु वणणो सुख वल ॥८४\*॥

न तेन येरो होति येनऽस्यस्य  
फलितं सिरो । परिपक्षो वयो तस्य  
मोघजिगणोति बुद्धति ॥१६५॥

Kautiliya Aîthashâstria also as referred to on pages 101-03 and 190 of his "Lectures on the Ancient History of India" by Shri D R Bhandarkar has two verses of Manu Smriti with slight changes only

नास्य छिद्र परो विद्याद्विद्या-  
च्छिद्र परस्य तु । गृहेत्कूर्मैवाङ्गानि  
रक्षेद्विवरमात्मन ॥७१०५॥

नास्य गुण्य परे विद्युष्टिक्षद्  
विद्यात्परस्य च । गृहेत्कूर्मैवाङ्गानि  
यस्याद्विवृतमात्मन ॥कौ० पृ० २६

\* Read here the note of Max Muller on page 83 of Vol. X Part I of S.B.E

स वत्सरेण पति पतितेन सहा-  
चरन् । याजनाध्यापनं द्यौनाश्च तु  
यानासनाशनात् ॥११।१८॥\*

स वत्सरेण पति पतितेन समा-  
चरन् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनाश्चा-  
न्योऽपि समाचरन् ॥कौ०पू०२१॥

Here, Professor D R Bhandarkar following the lead of Buhler arrives at the result that 'the verses (above quoted) were not composed by Kautilya but were utilised by him from some work which was in existence long before he wrote or the (metricul) Manu Smriti was compiled' This is nothing but a prejudice in order to bring down the date of Manusmriti First a theory is started—Manusmriti is accepted to belong to a later date,—and then if any work anterior to that date is found containing the verses of Manusmriti, (although not mentioning this fact but still indicating that the verses are not his own) it is said that the work in question and the Manusmriti both utilised a material of a very old period Both this assumption and conclusion do not seem to be convincing

Last of all we may refer to two verses, to be found in the 18th Saiga of Valmiki Ramayana, where the author of that work explicitly says that the following two shlokas were sung by Manu —

\* Vasishtha 1 22 , Baudhayana II 1 85 and Vishnu

† My friend Pandit Nanak Chandra B A informs me that Maskri and Hardatta on Gautama Dharmasutra have got the first half of this verse on the name of Kanya They both give समाचरन् in place of सहाचरन्, Hardatta at the same time quotes the full verse from Manu also with the words हति मानवम् There a'so the first half of the verse has समाचरन् and the second half has exactly the same words as in the present day Manu.

श्रूयते मनुना गीतो श्लोको चारित्र वत्सलौ ।  
 शृहीतौ धर्मकुशलैस्तत्त्वथा चरितं हरे ॥ ३१ ॥  
 राजभिर्धृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः ।  
 निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ ३२ ॥  
 शासनाद्वा विमोक्षाद्वा स्तेनः स्तेयाद्विमुच्यते ।  
 राजा त्वशासन्प स्य तदवाग्मोति किल्विषम ॥ ३३ ॥

The verse 32nd is Manusmṛiti VIII 38, and  
verse 33rd is Manu VIII 316

It may, therefore, after this brief discussion be  
safely concluded that the original Smṛiti of Manu  
was like the present one composed in verse 1

#### V THE SMRITI OF BRIHASPATI

Like its original, the Manusmṛiti, the Smṛiti of  
Bṛihaspati was also in verse. That work is however  
lost now (if it may not be unearthed by some future  
researches). The small collection of some shlokas  
which is generally called the Bṛihaspati Smṛiti  
is but a child's play as compared with the Bṛahmaspatya  
Śāstria referred to in the Mahābhāṣṭava. Professor  
Julius Jolly collected fragments of Bṛihaspatismṛiti  
from different law books and their commentaries,  
for translating them in the S B E Vol XXXIII.  
But these fragments are also incomplete. An exhaustive  
collection of all the sayings of Bṛihaspati will not be a  
fruitless task for some future scholar 2

1 I hope to discuss this subject in detail at some later date.

2 After the above lines were written I read in the *Vedic Magazine* that Pandit Jaideva Vidyalankar of the Gurukul Kangri is busy with this work and will shortly bring out this useful collection.

## VI KAUTILYA AND BRIHASPATI.

Just as the views attributed to the school of Manu by Kautilya and his follower Kāmardaka are not to be met with in the present law-book of Manu, so also the views ascribed to the school of Brihaspati by Kautilya are not found in the collected fragments of Brihaspati. Brihaspati is referred to on six different occasions by Kautilya. See pages 6 29, 63, 177, 192, and 375 (*Text, second edition*)

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## VII THE BRIHASPATYA SUTRAM AND ITS DATE

The present sūtras even if they do, possess but a very remote connection with the Brihaspatya shāstria. Even pruned of their sectarian matter, they do not appear to belong to any of the adherents of the original school of Brihaspati. These sūtras may only here and there contain a view of the old Brihaspatya school. As regards the date of this work, nothing can be said with certainty. The guess of Dr F. W. Thomas may turn out to be a true one. This much however, is certain that the work is not anterior to the sixth or seventh century A. D. \*

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\* Pandit Jai Deva in the Vedic Magazine already referred to says that the work is posterior to Kalidas, for the reason that in his Meghduta Kalidas refers to Kankhal alone, while Hardwar or Gangadvara which is a Shaiva tītha of a recent origin is not at all mentioned by him. This Gangadvara is mentioned in Brihaspatya sutra III. 122. Hence the work is posterior to the recognition of Hardwar as a sacred place.

### VIII A-BARHASPATYA SAMHITA.

There is another treatise connected with the name of Brihaspati. It is the Bṛahspatya Samhitā. We find it often quoted in the गजलक्षण प्रकरण of लक्षणशकाश of वीरसिंत्रादय. It is in the form of a dialogue between Nahusha and Brihaspati. The work is in the mixed style of prose and verse. This Samhitā also, as is apparent from the numerous quotations in the above mentioned work, bears no connection with the present sūtras.

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### IX WAS BRIHASPAKI A CARVAKA ?

No doubt, there was a great atheistic logician Brihaspati by name, but was he the writer on polity? Somadeva Suri (10th century A D) says in his Yashastilaka शृङ्खपतिनीतय इव देवमातृका (p 13 Nirnayasigai 1901) and his commentator Shrutasagar Suri says शृङ्खपतिनीतय इव । यथा शृङ्खपतिनीतयश्चार्बाक्षशास्त्राणि देव सर्वशाद्विशेषं न मन्यन्ते । So, according to the commentator the Nītikāra Brihaspati was the renowned Cārvāka. However, all the previous quotations go against this view. Brihaspati the politician, being connected with Manu and others of the theistic school, was certainly a theist. Somadeva and his commentator confuse the two Brihaspatis.

There have been thus three eminent persons at least known by the name Brihaspati in the literary history of Bhāratā. The first and the most well-known was Brihaspati, the writer on polity, secondly Brihaspati, the cārvāka logician, and thirdly the person who wrote the samhitā.

## X PARALLEL PASSAGES

(१) आत्मवान् राजा १।१

आत्मवान् नृप । कामदंकी  
नीतिसार २।३६

(२) कालिकाभिधान पाषण्डी २।१३

पाषण्डी । नीतिवाक्यामृतपृ० ८२  
On this the commentary says  
कापालिकादि पाषण्डिनम् ।

(३) अर्थमर्येन २।४६

अर्थेनार्थोपार्जनम् । नी० वा० अमृत ४० ११६

(४) गुरुवचनमलङ्घनीयम् २।७३

गुरुवचनमनुलङ्घनीयम् । नी० वा०  
अमृत ४० ४४(५) अष्टादशतीर्थानि निरूपयेत्  
३।२२“सेनापतिर्गणको राजधेष्ठी  
दण्डाधिपो मन्त्री महत्तरो बल-  
वत्तरभ्यत्वारो वर्णाश्च तुरङ्गबल  
पुरोहितोऽमात्यो महामाहात्यभ्ये-  
त्यष्टादश राज्ञां तीर्था भवन्ति ।”quoted by श्रुतसागरसूरि  
on p 91 of यशस्तिक  
Nirnayasagai edition(६) ब्रह्मे मुहृते उत्थानम् । धर्म-  
मर्धश्च चिन्तयेत् २।४।१A common saying of the  
Dharmaśāstras Cf Manu  
IV 92

(७) गजोऽगजेनेव ३।४

गजेन गज्जवन्धनमिद । नी० वा०  
अमृत ४० ११६

(८) धनमूल जगत् ३।१०

“धनमार्जय काकुत्स्य धन  
मूलमिद जगत् ।”  
quoted by Ramchandra  
Budhendra on नीतिशतक 31  
(Nirnayasagai edition 1917)

These sūtrās of Brihaspati were originally published in LE MUSEON Troisième Série—Tome 1 No 2, 16 Mars 1916 The text printed there, was in the Roman script To this, Dr F W Thomas had attached his valuable introduction and translation By the kind permission of the publishers—The University Press Cambridge—of that journal, through Professor Balkrishna M A, the editor of the Vedic Magazine, was able to publish this material in his journal for the month of October 1920 The devanāgarī text of the sūtrās printed in the Vedic Magazine was prepared by me During its preparation I was thinking if the text with the introduction and translation of Dr F W Thomas could be preserved in a book form Even Professor Balkrishna desired the same This became soon practicable, when the publishers of the present edition undertook this task

In the end I should thank my friends Pandits Vishva Bandhu Shastri M A and Nanak Chand B A and my pupil Desh Raj for going through the proof-sheets

DAYANANDA ANGLO VEDIC  
COLLEGE, LAHORE,  
*December, 1920* }      BHAGAVADATTA

been favoured with a perusal of proof-sheets I was able to draw attention ( J R A S pp 446-71) to the extreme importance of the work. In 1911-12 Professor Jacobi in two very valuable papers (*Kultur-Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches aus dem Kautilya* and *Über die Echtheit des Kautilya* in the Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911, pp 954-973, 1912, pp 832-849) discussed the bearings of the work upon the Indian literary and linguistic history and argued forcibly for its authenticity. We have also to take note of interesting discussions of the work by Prof Jolly, *Lexikalisches aus dem Arthashâstra* (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXXI, pp 204-10), *Kollektaneen zum Kautilya Arthashâstra* (Z D M G, 1914, pp. 345-359), Dr Johannes Hertel, *Literarisches aus dem Kautilyashâstra* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, xxiv, pp 416-422), and Dr Jarl van Charpentier, *En Indisk handbok i statslæra fraan 300 f. kr* (*Nordisktidskrift*, 1913, pp 353-369), Narendra Nath Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (Based on the Arthashâstra of Kautilya)* (vol 1, London, etc, 1914) and a partial commentary compiled by Dr I Sorabji, as a pupil of Prof Jolly, and published at Allahabad in 1914. A revised translation by Pandit Shama Shastri is now passing through the press. The information contained in the *Arthashâstra* is still far from exhausted, and the interest in it may be expected continually to increase.

As Prof Jacobi has mentioned, Cânakya frequently quotes his predecessors, both schools and individuals, the style often assuming almost the form of a discussion, and it is clear that in (say) the fifth and fourth

centuries B C the subject of royal policy was a recognized topic. The schools are the Mānavas, Bāhaspatyas, Aushanasas, Ambhiyas (no doubt, of Taxila) and Parāsharas, and the individuals Bhāradvāja, Viśhälāksha, Piśhuna, Kaunpadanta, Vātavyādhī and Bāhudantī-putra. It is, therefore, of interest to find that in the account of the science occurring in the Mahābhārata (cited by Prof Jacobi, 1911, p 973)\* some of these names occur. There we are told that the founder of the science was Bṛahmā himself, whose work was abridged by Shiva in a treatise entitled *Vaiśhälāksha*, and then further abridged in succession by Indra, who compiled the *Bāhudantaka*, Brihaspati the *Bāhaspatya*, and Kavī (Ushanas), the (Aushanasa) treatise—of which the last-mentioned is named along with those of Manu, Indra, Bhāradvāja, and Gauashiras in another passage of the same book (c 58, 2-3), also in 1 98, 36 and elsewhere in the literature (e.g. *sāmx aushanasa* in the *Jāṇakīharana*, x 26).

+ एतते राजधर्मणां नवनीतं युधिष्ठिर ।

बृहस्पतिर्हि भगवान्नायं धर्मं प्रशंसति ॥ १ ॥

विशालाक्षश्च भगवान्काव्यश्चैव महातपाः ।

सहस्राद्दो महेन्द्रश्च तथा प्राचेतसो मनुः ॥ २ ॥

भरद्वाजश्च भगवास्तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः ।

राजशास्त्रं प्रयेतारो ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ ३ ॥ शा० अ० ५७

\* Also cited by Dr G. Oppert in his *Weapons, Army Organisation And Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880, p 35 B Datta.

† I have introduced here the original shlokas for the benefit of the reader B Datta.

तानुवाच सुरान्सर्वान्स्वयंभूर्भगवाँस्ततः ।  
 श्रेयोऽह चिन्तयिष्यामि व्यतुवोभीः सुरोत्तमाः ॥ २८ ॥  
 ततोऽध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।  
 यत्र धर्मत्तथैवार्थः कामश्चैवानुवर्णितः ॥ २९ ॥  
 संचिन्तेप ततः शास्त्रं महास्त्रं ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ॥ ३० ॥  
 वैशालाक्षमिति प्रोक्तं तदिन्द्रः प्रसापद्यत ।  
 दशाध्यायसहस्राणि सुब्रह्मण्यो महातपाः ॥ ३१ ॥  
 मध्यवानपि तच्छास्त्रं देवात्प्राप्य महेश्वरात् ।  
 प्रजानां हितमन्विच्छन्संचिन्तेप पुरंदरः ॥ ३२ ॥  
 सहस्रैः पञ्चभिस्तात यदुक्तं बाहुदन्तकम् ।  
 अध्यायानां सहस्रस्तु त्रिभिरेव ब्रह्मस्पतिः ।  
 संचिन्तेपेश्वरो बुद्ध्या बाह्यस्पर्शं यदुच्यते ॥ ३३ ॥  
 अध्यायानां सहस्रेण काव्यः संक्षेपमब्रवीत् ।  
 तच्छास्त्रमितप्रश्नो योगाचार्यो महायशाः ॥ ३४ ॥ शा० अ० ५८

To complete this brief sketch we should mention the *Shukla anuśiṣṭa*, no very early work, which has several times (by Oppert at Madras in 1882, by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara at Calcutta, 1892 etc etc) been edited in India and is now accessible in translation (by Prof Benoy Kumar Saksena in *Sacred Books of the Hindus* Allahabad, 1914)

The *Agni-purāṇa* has also a section devoted to the subject, which is, further, fully represented in the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, as well as in the *Muhūrbhāṣā*. We need not mention the later and minor treatises in Sanskrit literature.

The *Nīti* literature of Burma is of a different character. In the Tibetan, however, where we find also quasi-independent works on government, there are translations of Sanskrit texts in verse ascribed (1) to Masuraksha and (2) to Nāgārjuna. The Javanese has, besides a professed translation of the *Kāmaṇḍūhi Nītisāra*, also some minor tracts, perhaps representing the late moral anthology which bears the name of Cānakya.

If the short text which is here cited were representative of the ancient *Bāhāspatya* doctrine, it would have a considerable interest. Unfortunately, this is far from being the case. It professes, indeed, like the *Bāhāspati Smṛiti*, to be dictated to India by his Purohita. But what follows is a brief and strangely disjointed exposition of the subject. Its date, as it stands, seems from an apparent mention of the Yādvas of Devagiri to be brought down at least to the twelfth century A.D. It refers, in passages which, however, may be suspected of interpolation (see notes to II 8-35, III 8-16, 33-7, 119-33), to the sects of the Shaivas, Vaishnavas, and Shāktas and names their sacred domains (*kshetras*), some of which may not be ancient. It does not seem to contain the matter indicated by the citations in the Arthashastra of Kautalya (pp. 6, 29, 63, 177, 192 of the edition). It displays some grammatical peculiarities, e.g. neuters for masculines (which may sometimes be explained as accusatives obscured by the elliptical *sūta* style and *vice versa*), accusative after *eti-shva*s (which, however, occurs elsewhere), and even the forms *samgrahet* (which should perhaps be *samgrahyet*, as the correct *samgrahnyat* occurs several times) and *līyat*

(old subjunctive of *dīr*, see Lexx) Finally, it presents some confusions (e.g. I 36, II 34, V 17), probably due to the MSS., and one strange word *kusumānta*, which, though it can hardly be for Musalmān, might conceivably be a roundabout expression for Pallava (or *palla-ava=vita*)

It is not, however, the case that nothing can be said on the other side. Apart from the suspected interpolations, the tone and style, and even the disjointed and miscellaneous character of the work, produce a sense of antiquity. It is hard to conceive of such a treatise being deliberately compiled by persons acquainted with the *Nītsdīka* of Kāṇḍakī and the *Shukrāntī*. Some of the expressions, e.g. *atibheda-yet* (I 52), *alamkāra-yet* (IV. 10), are in the old *Arthashāstra* style, as are the proverbial expressions (e.g. I 29, 100, II 11, V 13, IV 12). The name *Tishya*, as applied to the fourth, or Kali, age, recurs in the *Mahābhārata* and *Hari-matha*. A connection with the Bārhaspatis may be seen in the restriction of the royal sciences to one, namely *dandanīti* (*Arthashāstra*, p 6), although they add *rāttā* (which again is represented in our text by *kṛishṇo akshabāṇiyāmī*, II 4, cf. *Arthashāstra*, p 8, *kṛishṇapāshupālye bāṇiyā ca vārttā*). The importance attached to the Lokāyta and Baudhā doctrine also points to the same direction. The term *Kāpālika*, as applied to adherents of the *Kāmaśāstra*, requires explanation, but some Shaiva sects e.g. the Pāshupatas encourage erotic ideas.

Upon the whole we should perhaps not be mistaken in maintaining that the text *does*, though rather remotely, derive from the ancient *Bārhaspata* system. We might compare it with such treatises as the existent *Vedāngas*,

or with the *Atharvaveda Parishesṭas*, which contain undoubtedly ancient matter along with strange lexicographical and grammatical features (e.g. *homayet* and even *namaskā et*, see the edition by Negelein and Bölling, Leipzig 1909–10, index) They belong to the backwaters of priestly studies preserved in Southern India, when the general interest was transferred to such subjects as Nyāya, Vedānta, law, and grammar.

A Ms of the work seems to be recorded as in private possession in South India (see Oppert's 'List,' vol 1 No 4642)\* This ms has not been procurable, but by the kindness of Prof. Rangānaiya, late Curator of the Government Oriental mss Library in Madras, I have been favoured with a Devanāgarī copy of another ms, which is under his charge Upon this (M) I have based the text, recording the slight variants of the Royal Asiatic Society's Whish ms (W—noted in Winternitz's catalogue under No 160 (3), p 219) Both originals are in Grantha character, and they derive not remotely from a common source<sup>1</sup> The punctuation follows almost invariably the Madras copy the numbering of the *Sūti as* has been added

As the treatise is definitely a *Sūti a*, a commentary must have been designed Does a copy exist, perhaps under Oppert's i No 6061 *Bárhaspatya-sūti a-ttkd'* (no longer traceable)? It might contain something

\* There is another ms of the work with Shri Pandit T Ganapati Shastri of Travancore He writes to me in his letter dated 22nd Dec 1920 thus—'As desired in your letter, I shall arrange on receipt of your printed forms of Bárhaspatya to note down the variants.' These I have not yet received. B.Datta.

<sup>1</sup> Whether this common source was the actual Madras ms.

interesting, more especially as it is not quite clear that the text in its six *adhyáyas* is complete<sup>2</sup>

I hope shortly to be in possession of a *Niti-sáti* ascribed to Cánakya.\*

or not, I am unable to demonstrate. That it was in the Grantha character is proved by the confusions between *e* and *ai* (v 15), *au* and *u* (read as *n*) III 118, IV 38, V 22), *m* and *h* (I 15, II 8, 18, III 76, 81, 92, V 11), *k* and *t* (I 54 76 III 81, 92, 131, V 13), *k* and *tt* (III 122), *g* and *bh* (III 67), *c* and *v* (III 26-7), *c* and *p* (II 89), *ne* and *ce* (II 73, III 23, 87, 102), *j* and *bh* (II 33), *nd* and *ndr* (III 41), *nd* and *ndh* (II 43), *t* and *m* (V 26), *n* and *r* (I 7), *nu* and *ni* (I 54), *p* and *v* (V 27), *li* and *h* (II 9) *tra* and *tri* (V 26).

2 We may here enumerate the chief grammatical peculiarities above referred to. Some of them may be due to the elliptical *Sutá* style, whilst some in sculine plurals in *u* from nouns in *a* may be conjectured to be ms. errors, final *n* (Grantha, etc.) having been read as *u*. Also double gender in such nouns is common.

(a) neuter for masc

*abhiprayam* (V 9), *artham?* (VI 9), *touram* (III 57), *upayani* (IV 43), *kubham?* (IV 36), *kumam?* (II 47), *devaliyam* (III 56), *dharma?* (II 46), *párikram* (IV 50), *mantran* (III 8, elsewhere masc. different sense?), *molshum?* (II 48); *lobham* (I 22) *vadhim* (II 49), *shabdam* (IV 33, known elsewhere), *avaram* (IV 17), *vishryu* (III 113?)

(b) compounds with *adi* in various genders, having no obvious concord I 12, 57, 64, 65, 106, II 16, 19, III 15

(c) masc for neuter

*āśvindhuh* (III 139), *lshets h* (III. 119-122, also neut.), *phal h* (III 78), see also III 9

(d) *nrj*-for *arg* II 7, 9, 13

(e) *suparikṣtya* (V 15) and *dnyat* (III 46, 47) are archaic. As regards Sandhi, I have usually normalized, sometimes leaving *h* in pause, where it is legitimate.

\* This has now been printed as an appendix to the second edition of Kautilya Arthashástra by Pt Shama Shastri.

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# अथ वार्षस्पत्यसूत्रम् ।

## [ प्रथमोऽध्यायः । ]

बृहस्पतिरथाचार्य इन्द्राय नीतिसर्वस्वमुपदिशति ।

आत्मवान् राजा ॥१॥

आत्मवन्तं मन्त्रणमापादयेत् ॥२॥

दण्डनीतिरेव विद्या ॥३॥

धर्मपि लोकविकुष्टं न कुर्यात् ॥४॥

करोति चेदशास्यैनं बुद्धिमद्भिः ॥५॥

समानैः सेव्यः ॥६॥

स्त्रीबालवृद्धैः सह न वदेद्धर्मनीतिहृत्यानि ॥७॥

ऐन्द्रजालिकं न कुर्यात् ॥८॥

मन्त्रवादोत्सवौ च ॥९॥

आमयविष्वधंसनानि च ॥१०॥

न भस्मधारणम् ॥११॥

f W अशस्येनः 12 W र 13. W o जालकं 14 M erases 11  
and inserts it after 12.

नामिहोत्रवेदपाठादीनि च ॥२॥  
 न तीर्थयात्रा ॥३॥  
 न राजसेवा च ॥४॥  
 न स्त्रीसेवा च ॥५॥  
 म म[१.ख]२४ पित्रेत ॥६॥  
 आसर्ण न हन्यात् ॥७॥  
 नेयं न कुर्यात् ॥८॥  
 शु न च स्तग्नुलेपौ ॥९॥  
 एविषेदेत् ॥१०॥  
 न चातिकुप्येत् ॥११॥  
 अविषये लोभमदानसंज्ञम् ॥१२॥  
 केदारे वीजानि वापयेत् ॥१३॥  
 दानं कर्तव्यम् ॥१४॥  
 तदसीहप्तुता लोभः ॥१५॥  
 स्तेयं सोभश्च ॥१६॥  
 स्वद्रव्यव्ययहेतुः कामः ॥१७॥  
 गुरुदेवभाष्टनृपादिहिंसाकुद्धिः क्रोधः ॥१८॥  
 स्वक्षिरस्तादनं च ॥१९॥

5. W ऋः । 6. W ऋणः । 7. Sic; perhaps a verb  
 (कर्मेत्) is understood.

बलादेषु च सर्वं शर्वं युद्धेन हन्यात् ॥३०॥

अन्याभियोधीं सामरानभेदमायोपेत्वादिभिः ॥३१॥

मत्त्वैः न कुर्यात् ॥३२॥

मृगयातिसङ्कुच नाचरेत् ॥३३॥

स्थीष्वतिसङ्गादयशो च [२क] र्थिते ॥३४॥

आयुश्च तीयते ॥३५॥

शूतपरतापपरापवादपातकिसमागमे<sup>११</sup> समन्त्रदानि परचिक्ष्मा-  
णि<sup>१२</sup> विद्याव्यसनपरिश्येन ॥३६॥

ओपथोपयोगविग्रहमूत्रविसर्जनकस्नानदन्तधावनमैथुनोपभोग-  
दैवतपूजापि रहस्येन ॥३७॥

दृथा धर्मध्वजिनं न विश्वसेत्<sup>१५</sup> ॥३८॥

निन्देभ च ॥३९॥

उन्मत्तजडादीन् दृष्ट्वा न हसेच्च ॥३०॥

तुल्यशीलवयोभिः क्रीडितव्यं रहस्य ॥४१॥

गजाश्वक्रीड व्यक्ते न द्विरूपम् ॥४२॥

दृष्टेभ च स्वजातिजीवत्सु ॥४३॥

8. Sic M, W [योगं]. Read योधिनः ? 9. W समृद्धानभेद । 10. W मत्त्व । 11. W गतेमस—the reading and sense are doubtful. 12. W पर्फि । 13. W ओश्चोदग । 14. W स्वान । 15. For accusative after वि-अस्त् see Lexica and comp. V, 19 infra. 16. W ओजाहरीद् । 17. M includes रहस्ये in the next *sūtra*. 18. W ओश्चपसक्षिष्ठे । 19. M ओके ।

अर्थेनानुरोधेणाभिजन्मनौदार्थेण पूर्वे र्भू[२५] विष्वैरप्तिकत्व  
इच्छा कर्तव्या ॥४४॥

पूर्वाचरितं धर्ममनुजीविसख्यममात्यज्ञातिसुहृद्दान्धवान् समं  
पश्येत् ॥४५॥

वहिरन्तर्दण्डदानावनुजीविषु ॥४६॥

सामभेददानानि मन्त्रिषु ॥४७॥

सामभेददानार्थमायपिण्डानि ज्ञातिषु ॥४८॥

अप्रियमपि वचनं अृणुयात् ॥४९॥

दुर्दिनग्रहैषम्यत्रिजन्मनत्तेऽगुरुकार्यपाप्तौ न च मङ्गलानि  
सेवेत् ॥५०॥

एकदेशैकरूपिणीमभिजातां स्त्रियं गमयेत् ॥५१॥

अतिभेदयेन्नातिसामं नातिदानं न च स्त्रीषु दण्डो न च  
मायोपेक्षा कर्तव्या ॥५२॥

तासु न वहु वदेत् ॥५३॥

ग्रामया[३२] चकस्तुतमागधवन्दिनटन्तर्कयुपाध्यायासत्यवाद-  
३३ २७ २८ वदुविटवणिजगोपालवेश्याकुनृपेष्वनृताहम्बरं वक्तव्यः ॥५४॥

संन्यासं नृपवेश्यामन्त्रवादोपजीविष चिरं न सेवेत् ॥५५॥

20. भेदनामा० । 21. M W ऋकार्ये प्र० । 22. W ऋग्म,  
M ऋग्मप० । 23. M चामयो० । 24. M W insert न । 25. Read:  
सूत for स्तुत । W ऋत्यु० । 26. M ऋतु०, W ऋतु० । 27. W  
वेश्या० । 28. M ऋतु० । 29. M संन्यास ।

पथमोऽच्यत्य् ॥

आत्मप्रभु सेवेत ॥५६॥

आयत्यादीनति न ॥५७॥

स्त्रीशूतपानसक्ताच सेवयेत ॥५८॥

पञ्च नाडिका इष्टदेवताजपादि<sup>१०</sup> पञ्चनाडिकायामतीत्रायायास्था-  
नम् ॥५९॥

दश नाडिका विधिः पञ्च नाडिकाः स्नानम् ॥६०॥

त्रिनाडिका भोजनम् ॥६१॥

पञ्चनाडिका हास्यक्रीडा स्तिर्यैः ॥६२॥

द्विनाडिका सन्ध्या ॥६३॥

सप्त नाडिका नृत्तादयः ॥६४॥

सप्त नाडिका मैथुन[ इत्य ]भोजनादयः ॥६५॥

सप्त नाडिका सूसिः ॥६६॥

स्वनियमं कुर्यादप्मादेन ॥६७॥

अभ्यनियामक इव ॥६८॥

शिरःकम्पनास्थानेन स्वागतेन शिष्टताम्बूलदानेन ब्राह्मणो-  
त्तमान् ॥६९॥

दुर्बालग्नं शिरःकम्पेन न सोपाचनमपि ॥७०॥—

30. M here inserts नाडिकां। 31 W सम्ब्यन् 32. S<sup>१०</sup> ( प्रूप चिं ) । 33. W दुर्बाले । 34. W उम्पन् . M उम्पन् अथ उम्पन् सोपाचनमपि ॥७०॥—the next *sūtra* ।

समानप्रभुं विशेषरं वा स्वागतेनासनेन शिरःकमेन ताम्भूल-

दानेन हास्यकथया च ॥७१॥

स्मितेन स्वागतेनास्याऽन्नवर्णिकान् ॥७२॥

ईक्षणस्मितेन स्वागतेन शुद्धाभ्य ॥७३॥

अभीष्टद्रव्यदानेन वालवृद्धादीन् ॥७४॥

अन्त्यपाषणहादीन् वाह्मात्रेणापि न ॥७५॥

कार्यगुरु[४क]त्याऽनुगच्छेत् ॥७६॥

अल्पं वदेच्च योगं ददात् ॥७७॥

षणिकापरिग्रह न कुर्याद्वृहस्ये ॥७८॥

कर्मकारान्प्रति योगीनपि कार्यमविचारयेत् ॥७९॥

क्लिघ्नैः सह समानं वर्येन्मन्त्रित्वे ॥८०॥

अन्त्यजं त्वनन्त्यजातिनम् ॥८१॥

अन्त्यजानां स्वार्थानिवेदकत्वमाङ्गाकर्त्त्वं च ॥८२॥

तमातिलालयेत् ॥८३॥

न विश्वसेत् ॥८४॥

सर्वं ज्ञात्वा न कुर्यात् ॥८५॥

35 W विद्येऽ । 36 Text corrupt, reading doubtful.

37. M नम् । 38. W ऋद्धादीन् । 39-39. M includes in the next *sūtra*.

40 W कार्याऽ । 41 M ऋथा । 42 W त्वद्वद्यम् ।

43. M W includes रहस्ये in the next *sūtra* 44. एति ( for वोगिव अपि ! ) । 45. W लहं । 46. W अत्यवो । 47. इमाऽ ।

शथमोऽध्यायः ।

षष्ठं गुणिः शृदयात्रागुणिः कार्यगुणिः वेरगुणिः यशोभङ्गे सत्यमपि  
नेति वदेत् ॥४६॥

चिकित्सकज्योति [४५] षष्ठमन्त्रवादिनः संग्रहेत् ५० दृशशीलसम्प-  
कान् । ४७॥

सत्यमपि दुःखानर्थसाधनमार्पनं वदेत् ॥४८॥

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षं यावत् क्रीडाविद्या व्यसनात् कुर्यात् ॥४९॥

अत उत्तरमर्थर्जनम् ॥५०॥

आत्मनमनृणी कुर्यात् ॥५१॥

शृणवाज्ञायते त्रिभिः कामक्रोधलोभैः ॥५२॥

शरीरं सर्वदा रक्षेत् ॥५३॥

नित्यरूपं न त्यजेत् ॥५४॥

जनयोषे सति क्षुद्रकर्म न कुर्यात् ॥५५॥

नष्टे न स्थातव्यम् ॥५६॥

दूरपरिहरणीयं गुरुतरमपि तद्राज्यकार्यम् । ५७॥

कुसुमान्तान् दण्डनायकाश्वान् सेवेत् ॥५८॥

[५९] प्रवपदान्तः सोढव्या । ५९॥

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48. W श्यामा० । 49. W चिकित्साज्यो० । 50. Sic (for संगृहीयात्) । 51. Sic (onut आपि ?) 52. W आत्मानमारमद्य० । 53. M श्यो वा ज्ञा० । 54. M W श्या.मे० । 55. W omits का० । 56. W राज्या० ।

मर्त्ता<sup>५५</sup> मात्न्नोरव्यालसपेव्याग्रकुलं विपिवे इमशान्ते<sup>५६</sup> वसति

तस्मात्परमनागसां ज्ञातिवैरं न कर्तव्यम् ॥१००॥

एकामिष्ठानवृतं राजयोपपुवे तद्राज्यत्वेत्तम् ॥१०१॥

नीतिः किस नदीतीरतरुवत् ॥१०२॥

तच्छेहितव्यम् ॥१०३॥

भूतद्रोहिणः कुसुमान्तादयः ॥१०४॥

यशोवीर्यायुः श्रीरतिकसामन्तसेवा ॥१०५॥

कामक्रोधमदमात्सर्वैथुन्यादीन् कार्येत् ॥१०६॥

अरिः शुभशीलो मित्रम् ॥१०७॥

सुहृत्सु शुभशीलः शङ्खः ॥१०८॥

चन्द्रादिसयोरेकरुचिवाच् [ पूर्व ] छट्टुत्तम् ॥१०९॥

यदि चेष्ट स्थितिस्तयोः ॥११०॥

ज्ञातिषु यत्र वैरं तत्कुलदृयमामूलं नश्यति ॥१११॥

यः क्षात्रं दण्डनीतिं परिलजयनर्थकः शलभा इव वहिं  
पविश्वस्यानात्, इसाह भगवानाचार्यः सुरेन्द्रगुरुः ॥११२॥

इति बाह्यस्पत्यसूत्रे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

— 57 W मातेगग्रहचोर० । 58 MW उकुले । 59 W  
अमशानभूमौ । 60 Sc (see note to trans.) 61. M राज्यं छ२ ।  
५१. M श्रीरतिकसामन्त०, W श्रीरति कुसुमान्त०. Read श्रीयोहरति  
कुसुमान्त० । 63. M W इरि० 64 MW शुभं शीषा । 65 उशीषा ।  
66 M omits इय ।

## [ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः । ]

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गुणवतो राज्यम् ॥१॥  
 विद्यागुणोऽर्थगुणः सहायगुणाश्च ॥२॥  
 स्वकुलरञ्जन च चारित्ररक्षणम् ॥३॥  
 कृषिगोरक्षवाणिज्यानि ॥४॥  
 सर्वथा लौकायतिकमेव शास्त्रमर्थसाधनकाले ॥५॥  
 कापालिकमेव कामसाधने ॥६॥  
 आर्हतं धर्मे ॥७॥  
 [दृक्] लौकायतिकमेसनार्थं त्रिपं नश्यति तद् ॥८॥  
 कापालिकार्हतवौद्धाश्च ॥९॥  
 एतेषु तिष्ठन् श्लभयाह्विवद् ॥१०॥  
 फलानि श्रोत्रसलिलकल्पानि ॥११॥  
 अविद्यायुक्तः पुरुषार्थं साधयितुं धर्मयुक्ते यदिच्छति तदा  
 लौकायतिकाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१२॥  
 यदा चरणाल उदारसुरामांसादिकमेच्छुस्तदा कापालिका-  
 भिधानपाषण्डी ॥१३॥

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1. W स्ता० । 2 M Sic; W मसेनार्थः correct reading  
doubtful (अपेतार्थः ? ) 13 W कापादक्ष० । 4. W चद्. Read  
यदे ? 5. W ऋभिधन० ।

यदा सन्थ्योपासनाद्यग्निहोत्रादि परित्यज्याहि साधर्म्यं च्छुः तदा  
क्षपणकपा [६५] षण्डी ॥१४॥

यदा वेदोक्तकर्म ज्ञानं च सर्वेश्वरं शिवं विष्णुं श्रियमपि परित्य-  
ज्य सर्वं शून्यमिति वदति तदा बौद्धाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१५॥  
वृथा धर्मं वदसर्थसाधनं लौकायन्त्रिकः पिण्डादयश्चोर इति  
च ॥१६॥

सर्वमर्थार्थं करोय ग्निहोत्रसन्थ्याजयादीन् ॥१७॥

स्वदोषं गृहितु कामात्तं वेद पठति ॥१८॥

अग्निहोत्रादीन् करोति ॥१९॥

सुरापानार्थमहिलामेहनार्थं करोति ॥२०॥

विष्णवादयः सुरापानेन इति काषालिकाः ॥२१॥

धर्मा[७६]र्थं मलपिण्डधारणाद्यर्थं वदति क्षपणकः ॥२२॥

शिवादय इति वदति क्षपणकः ॥२३॥

परापवादार्थं वेदशास्त्रधर्मादीन् पठति ॥२४॥

सर्वाग्निन्दति ॥२५॥

मेहश्वरविष्णवादीनपि ॥२६॥

सोऽप्यशनार्थं धर्मं वदति ॥२७॥

६ M W ० सनाद् । ७ W शिवा, M W वदन्ति । ८ M W  
Sic (read ऋर्थम् ?) ९ M Sic (lead ० ते ० or ये ?) १० M W  
० मेनार्थम् । ११. M सुराग्निः । १२. W omits वेद । १३. W ० ये ।

वदनार्थं परान् स्तौति स बौद्धः ॥२८॥

लौकायतिको मृतो भवतर्थकामर्थमोक्षविहीनो नारकीचा ॥२९॥

कुले च तत्कुलं तत्पुत्रपौत्रान्तरे विनश्यति ॥३०॥

कापाली स्वग्रामगृहस्वजनेः परित्यक्तः सर्वलोकनिन्दितो नारकी भवति ॥३१॥

तस्मिन्काल ए[७ख]व कुल विनश्यति ॥३२॥

क्षपणकः स्वकुलग्रामवासिभिर्निन्दितो भवति<sup>१६</sup> त्रिकुलं<sup>१५</sup> विनश्यति ॥३३॥

बौद्धसचितं कुलं पुत्रपौत्रकाले वा विनश्यति सुदुष्टो नारकी ॥३४॥

एवंपाषाणिडसंपर्कं<sup>१९</sup> मनसाऽपि न कुर्यात् ॥३५॥

सुव्यवस्थितमन्त्रेण परच्छिद्ग्रानिना<sup>२१</sup> धार्मिकेण राज्यं परिपालयितुं न शक्यते ॥३६॥

ऐश्वर्यमद्मत्तेन सलोभमानिना<sup>२२</sup> सचितं विनश्यति ॥३७॥

कार्यं निश्चित्य विषयाननुभवति यः स उत्तमर्थं साधयति ॥३८॥

चेष्टया कार्य[८ क]ज्ञान्यर्थपरं<sup>२३</sup> इति धर्मवानिति लोकैर्यथा न ज्ञायते तथा कर्तव्यम् ॥३९॥

ईश्वर इव <sup>२४</sup> चन्द्रादित्याविव ॥४०॥  
 स्वामिचित्तानुष्टुचिभैर्मत्यैक्यकारकमैव मन्त्रम् ॥४१॥  
 मन्त्रिणा स्वामिनोऽभिमतमुत्सृज्य कार्यं वक्तव्यम् ॥४२॥  
 नीतेः फलं <sup>२६</sup> धर्मार्थकामावासि<sup>२७</sup>ः ॥४३॥  
 धर्मेण कामार्थै परीक्ष्यौ ॥४४॥  
 धर्मं धर्मेण <sup>२८</sup> ॥४५॥  
 अर्थमर्थेन ॥४६॥  
 कामं कामेन ॥४७॥  
 मोक्षं मोक्षेण ॥४८॥  
 गुरुशासनं कार्यमेव विरुद्धः द धर्मेणापि पाण्डवविवाह  
 इव, अर्जुनस्य संन्यास इव, व्यासविधवागमनमिव, कर्णो-  
 त्पादनमिव, राममातृवधमिवेत्यादि ॥४९॥  
 नीतिवियुक्तः पुत्र इव शत्रुः ॥५०॥  
 वालं दुष्टं साहसिकमप्नातशास्त्रमन्त्रे<sup>२९</sup> प्रवेशयेत् ॥५१॥  
 मृढा दुराचारास्तीक्ष्णा आत्मबुद्धयः त्तिप्रकुद्धा वाला  
 मन्त्रयोग्या न ॥५२॥

24 M इ for इव । 25 W मस्येक०, M ऋभि मस्येक्य० ।  
 26 W फण्डर्मार्थ० । 27 W ऋमाभिसि । 28 Sc. परीक्षयेत्  
 and so with the accusatives in *sūtras* 46–8. 29. Text  
 corrupt, W ऋशास्त्रमन्त्रेणा. Read ऋशास्त्रं मन्त्रे न ।

सर्वरक्षान्यपि दीयन्तां स्वकार्यजीवयशोरक्षणे ॥५३॥

मन्त्रकाले न कोपयेत् ॥५४॥

धर्मप्रधानं पुरुषा[६४]र्था<sup>६५</sup> न ॥५५॥

अर्थमेण भुज्यमानं सुखमसुहृत् ॥५६॥

स्थितिर्वर्धनम् ॥५७॥

अपथ्यभोजनो मृत्युप्रीतिकर इव सत्यव्रतः शास्त्रेषु निष्ठितः

पुरुषः सागरमपि शोषयेत् ॥५८॥

क्रुद्धो यदि हतपौरुषास्त्रस्ता भवन्ति ॥५९॥

एक एव बहून् दुर्जनो नाशयति ॥६०॥

पौरुषे निष्ठितो देवो ॥६१॥

यस्य<sup>६२</sup> स्वदाररतिः यस्यात्मदमने शक्तिस्तेन सद्वशो न ॥६२॥

सज्जनो न भयाद् व्यतिर्वत्ते ॥६३॥

तस्मिन्काले हितमवक्तव्यमवाक्यज्ञैः सुहृद्दिः ॥६४॥

उत्सक्तहृदयं धर्मे चलि[६५]तगौरवमजितात्मानं आसितुं  
नोत्सहेत ॥६५॥

दारुणाकर्मभिः श्रान्तमङ्गाननिद्रया सुमं धर्मवाक्यानिलैः शीतै-  
बालिशं प्रबोधयेत् ॥६६॥

30 M W पुरुषार्थन् । 31 M W स्थिति । 32 W  
दुर्जनाच्चा० । 33 M निष्ठिते देवो यस्य, W देवो वयस्य No  
interpunction in either case. 34 W अस्ते । 35 M  
शास्त्रम् ।

दुर्जनमध्ये सूर्यवत् प्रकाशते सुजनः ॥६७॥

अधर्मव्यवस्थितान्यायवृत्तेन वारयेत् ॥६८॥

अधर्मं नार्जयेत् ॥६९॥

अकीर्तिं नार्जयेत् ॥७०॥

न मारयेत् ॥७१॥

बोला निवार्यतां धर्मपाठाङ्कशेन गज इव ॥७२॥

गुरुवचनमलङ्घनीयं नयानुगतं चेत् ॥७३॥

गुरुमणि नीतिवियुक्तं निरासयेत् ॥७४॥

गुरुराहेति ॥७५॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे द्विती[१०क]योऽध्याय ॥

36 W सुधर्म । 37 M ०स्थिता । 38 M ०तामधर्० ।  
39 W गतभ्ये ।

## [ तृतीयोऽध्यायः । ]

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जितक्लेशस्य पौरुषम् ॥१॥

देशान्तरवासेन जितक्लेशो भवति ॥२॥

सर्वबलकालदेशसामप्रकृतिसहायामवयसां ज्ञानं कार्यम् ॥३॥

उपवासादिसहिष्णुत्वं च ॥४॥

सुगन्धवासान् कोशान् कुर्यात् ॥५ ।

बहुवादं मधुरमेव कुर्यात् ॥६॥

शम्बुदीन् मणीन् सर्वान् सदाराधयेत् ॥७॥

नवानि पञ्चाणि विद्यात् ॥८॥

त्रिविधाने शाक्ता वैष्णवा॑ शैवाने तत् [१०५] प्रभिशानि॑ ॥९॥

मोक्षपुर्या॑ द्वारं त्रयम् ॥१०॥

शाक्ता वैष्णवाः॑ शैवाः॑ ॥११॥

पोतयानमार्गवच्छाक्तम्॑ ॥१२॥

महापथवद्वैष्णवम् ॥१३॥

केवलप्रधानिकमध्वरथयानवद् ॥१४॥

1 W ऋदि , W read सम्बुद्धीन् । 2 Sic M W 3 W here inserts च । 4 M उपूर्वान् । 5 W om शाक्तं and *sutras* 13-15

लौकायतिकन्तपणकबौद्धादि बहुशारदूलदुष्टमृगाकीर्णशून्या-  
टवीयुहामार्गवत् ॥१५॥

एतन् निरूप्येकमाश्रयेत् ॥१६॥

उयोतिर्नाथस्थितं सदा निरूपयेत् ॥१७॥

चातुर्वर्णं रक्तेच ॥१८॥

अौषधानि सेवेत च ॥१९॥

सप्तवर्णं जोमदबुद्धिशांर्यदयार्वद्यनानि दोषधातुशमानि ॥२०॥

दानमानालङ्घारविद्याभिः सिद्धिं लभेत ॥२१॥

अष्टादश तीर्थानि निरूपयेत् ॥२२॥

षट् प्रकृतयस्तीर्थं शश्युमित्रोदासीना[१९क]श्च ॥२३॥

अन्तः शश्वरन्तर्मित्रोऽन्तर्हदासीन इति<sup>१०</sup> तेऽप्यनुजीविसखि-  
सुदृदश्च ॥२४॥

भार्यापुत्रवान्धवाश्च ॥२५॥

अन्येऽपि देवालयनृत्यागभूमिसन्ध्यावापीचतुष्पथपाषण-

दालयापणवालविद्यापाठदेशखलूरीशालीचन्द्रदर्शनाश्युत्सववे-

श्याश्वहसमुद्रतीर्थयितसंनिधिराज्यसन्धिसुराविक्रयस्थानपा-

न्यनिवासाश्च ॥२६,२७॥

6. W अात्रयेत् । 7. M W ऋसमानि । 8. W यस्ते तीर्था  
 9. M मित्रोदासां च । 10. W तरु । 11. W here inserts  
 च । 12. W शश्याल । 13. W पादेश । 14. W omits लू ।  
 15. M W लयह । 16. W च । 17. W पन्था ।

सूक्ष्मारवेषं कुर्यात् ॥२८॥

पुरद्वारे सर्वनिरोधनं कार्यम् ॥२९॥

सर्वान् निशेषः ॥१२४] येच्च गरेत् ॥

इविहासपुराणानि मानयेत् ॥३१॥

तत् पाकांश्च ॥३२॥

आस्त्रागमांश्च ॥३३॥

१९  
वैस्वानसागमांश्च ॥३४॥

सांख्यांश्च ॥३५॥

चैवांश्च ॥३६॥

सर्वानपि स्वाध्यायं कुर्यात् कारयेत् ॥३७॥

आलये न हन्यादोषद्वृष्टमपि ॥३८॥

२०  
निर्देयस्य दया कर्तव्या ॥३९॥

ग्रामणोन् सम्भावयेत् ॥४०॥

२१  
नगरन्द्रांश्च ॥४१॥

२२  
दुर्वलमपि साम कुर्यात् ॥४२॥

दानेन वहु ॥४३॥

न स्वलपश्च ॥४४॥

नोक्तमेषु गुणावाहूल्यकमेण ॥४५॥

18 W सर्वन् । 19 W omits न । 20. W अहम् ।  
21 W वं । (for न्द्रां) । 22 W अपि स कु ।

<sup>२३</sup>  
अहैर्दीव्यात् ॥४६॥

<sup>२४</sup>  
नैव दीव्यात् ॥४७॥

सर्पादीन् इन्यात् ॥४८॥

<sup>२५</sup>  
उत्तमाभानामन्त्रसिद्धान् [२क] विद्याषहुलान् द्विजान मान-  
येत् ॥४९॥

अन्यराष्ट्रजान् द्विजान त्रिवन्धून् कुमारसामन्तादीनात्मवत्  
सम्भावयेद्गोजनाच्छादनादिभिः ॥५०॥

<sup>२६</sup>  
शरण्णागतं सर्वपातकयुक्तमपि रचेत् ॥५१॥

दृष्टनिग्रह कुर्यात् ॥५२॥

शिष्टपरिपालनञ्च ॥५३॥

ग्रामं न वाधेत् ॥५४॥

नगरञ्च ॥५५॥

देवालयानि च ॥५६॥

<sup>२७</sup>  
आसवानि सेवयेत् ॥५७॥

अति न ॥५८॥

मांसानि च ॥५९॥

घृणा कार्या ॥६०॥

23 W डि० | 24 Sic M W. 25 W अमन्त्र० | 26 M  
inter punctuates here and not after नादिभि | 27 W  
सर्वपरत० | 28 Sic W M (for वान् ?)

बौद्धादयो न ॥६१॥

अग्राशा न ॥६२॥

मत्तकाशिन्यः सेव्याः ॥६३॥

पञ्चाशत्कोटियोजना पृथिवी ॥६४॥

सप्तद्वीपवती च ॥६५॥

सप्तसमुद्रावृता च ॥६६॥

कर्मभोगाति<sup>२९</sup>[१२ख]भोगदिव्यगृह्णारसिद्धकैवल्या इति द्वीपाभिधानाः ॥६७॥

मध्यः कर्मभूमिः ॥६८॥

तन्मध्ये गेरोराजम्बृः<sup>३०</sup> ॥६९॥

तत्रोचरे हिमवान् ॥७०॥

तस्य दक्षिणे नवसाहस्री भूः ॥७१॥

तत्र दाक्षिणांसो भारतः खण्डः ॥७२॥

तत्र साक्षाद्वार्धार्थफलाः सिध्यन्ति ॥७३॥

तत्र दण्डनीतिः ॥७४॥

पूर्वभारतीयैः पठितव्यः भविष्यैर्वर्तमानैश्च चातुर्वर्ण्यैकम् ॥७५॥

दण्डनीत्या भगवान् भानुर्नृपतिः<sup>३२</sup> ॥७६॥

29. W omits गा । 30. Corrupt, reading doubtful.  
31. W ऋन्यो । 32. W ऋति ।

वायुश्च सर्वे<sup>१३</sup> देवाश्च ॥७७॥

जनतवश्च ॥७८॥

सहस्रयोजना बदरिकासेतन्ता ॥७९॥

द्वारकादिपुरुषोत्तम[१३क]सालग्रामान्ता सप्तशतयोजना ॥८०॥

तत्रापि रैवतक विन्ध्यसहस्रकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपारियात्राः सप्त-<sup>३५</sup>  
कुलाचलाः ॥८१॥

गङ्गासरस्ततीकालिन्दीगोदावरीकावेरीताम्रपणीघृतमाला[ः]  
कुलनदश्च ॥८२॥

अष्टादश विषयाश्च ॥८३॥

अष्टादश सागरा नृपाः ॥८४॥

अष्टादश पार्वतीयाः ॥८५॥

रामस्त्रष्टुर्चत्वारिंश्चत्ततं दक्षिणोत्तरे आसहं द्वादश विश्वा-  
मित्रसूष्टिरेकादश ॥८६॥

नेपालं चतुःशतम् ॥८७॥

पूर्वसमुद्रतोरे वरुणातःसमुद्रान्तमष्टयोज[१३ख]ना ॥८८॥

पञ्चशतद्वितयमुक्तरलाटं पूर्वलाटच्च ॥८९॥

काञ्जीपाञ्जालद्वितयमञ्जीतिः ॥९०॥

33. W सर्वे । 34. W नन्तं । 35 W omits क । 36 W  
नन्तं । 37 नष्टा । 38 M omits क; W has नष्टम् ।

केकयसुखयं पाष्ठः ॥४१॥

४० मात्स्यमागधं शतम् ॥४२॥

मालवशकुन्तमशीतिः ॥४३॥

कोसलावन्तिःपाष्ठः ॥४४॥

४२ सैश्व वैदर्भद्वितयं शतद्वितयम् ॥४५॥

४३ वदेहकौरव शतम् ॥४६॥

काम्बोजदशार्णमशीतिः ॥४७॥

एते महाविषयाः ॥४८।

एते खलु चतुरश्राः ॥४९॥

आरट्टबाह्लीकौ ४४ दक्षिणोत्तरतः ४५ शतमात्रौ पूर्वपश्चाद् द्वा-  
दशौ ॥१००॥

शाकसौराष्ट्रौ चतुरश्रौ चत्वारिंशत् ॥१०१॥

अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गा [४५]ः शटमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च ॥१०२॥

४६ काश्मीरहूणाम्बषुसिन्धवः शतमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च ॥१०३॥

४७ किरात नैवीरचोलपाण्ड्या उत्तरे दक्षिणे स्थिताः शतम्  
परं पाष्ठमात्राः ॥१०४॥

39. W ०३ । 40. W मास्य० । 41. W ०८ । 42. S<sub>2</sub>C.

43. W ३३ । 44. W ०५३ । 45. W ०८८ । 46. W ०८३ ।

47. W ०४३ । 48. W काश्मीरहूणाम्बषुसिन्ध० । 49. W किरातम० ।

50. W ०३३ ।

यादवकाञ्चीविषयं चत्वारिंशच्छतमात्रम् ॥१०५॥

एते उपविषयाः ॥१०६॥

<sup>५३</sup> समकोङ्गणाश्चतुःशतमात्रा द्वादश षट्टाष्टौ॒च ॥१०७॥

<sup>५४</sup> एते अनूपाः ॥१०८॥

सत्त्वाद्वौ चत्वारो गिरिविषयाः ॥१०९॥

श्रीपर्वते द्वयम् ॥११०॥

<sup>५५</sup> रवतक एकः ॥१११॥

विन्ध्ये पञ्च ॥११२॥

कुमारे एकम् ॥११३॥

[१४ ख] महेन्द्रे त्रयम् ॥११४॥

पारियात्रे त्रयम् ॥११५॥

<sup>५६</sup> सर्वे दत्तिणोत्तरतः पञ्चाशन्मात्राः पूर्वतःपश्चात् पञ्च-  
योजनाः समाः ॥११६॥

म्लेच्छे यवनविषयाः पार्वतीयाः ॥११७॥

<sup>५७</sup> ग्रामनगरोद्यानादिभिरलंकृताः पुरुषक्षेत्रादिभिश्च ॥११८॥

<sup>५८</sup> अष्ट वैष्णवक्षेत्राः ॥११९॥

51 W omits अनी । 52. W ऋय । 53 W स्तू० । 54. W च  
षट्टाष्टौ॒च । 55 W आनु० । 56 W एकाः, M एका । 57 W  
पश्चात्० । 58. W आमौह रो० । 59 Sic (Masc) here and in  
the *sūtras* 122, 125 60 W उन्नतं सिं० ।

वदरिकासालग्रामपुरुषोत्तमद्वारकाबिलबाचलानन्दसिंहं श्री-  
रङ्गाः ॥१२०॥

अष्टौ शैवाः ॥१२१॥

<sup>६१</sup> अविमुक्त[ क ]गङ्गाद्वारशिवक्षेत्ररामेयमुनाशिवसरम्बतीपव्य-  
शार्दूलगजक्षेत्राः ॥१२२॥

शाक्ता अ[७५ क]ष्टौ च ॥१२३॥

<sup>६२</sup> श्रीघ्यीणं जालपूर्णकामकोङ्गश्रीशैलकाञ्चीमहेन्द्राः ॥१२४॥

एते महाक्षेत्राः ॥१२५॥

सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च ॥१२६॥

<sup>६५</sup> वन्ध्याश्च ॥१२७॥

विन्ध्ये नित्यं वसति दुर्गा भद्रकाली च ॥१२८॥

कुमारे कुमारो वसति नित्यं ॥१२९॥

सहे गणपतिः ॥१३०॥

<sup>६६</sup> रैतके शास्ता ॥१३१॥

महेन्द्रे गरुडः ॥१३२॥

पारियात्रे क्षेत्रपालः ॥१३३॥

कर्मभूमौ भारते मनुष्यैर्बहवो देवाः ॥१३४॥

61 W अविमुक्तचगङ्गाऽ । 62 W ऋचा (masc. as in  
119) 63 W दयडी० । 64 Sic (masc.) 65 Sic (for वन्ध्याशू०)  
66 M वसति० । 67 W रैतते ।

मुरामुरयद्वराद्वसभूतप्रेतविनायककूशमाण्डा विकृताननाः

॥१३५॥

निरुद्धा भारवेषाः ॥१३६॥

सौम्यमैरवा योगिन्यश्च नागाश्च[ १५ स्व ]यानवैः सह रूपरमा  
प्रसंख्याताः संचरन्ति ॥१३७॥

मानवैः कृतपालनाश्च ॥१३८॥

तस्मिन्नभूतमया औषधाः<sup>१८</sup> सन्ति ॥१३९॥

अत्र युगसंख्या कृतत्रेताद्वापरतिष्याश्च<sup>१९</sup> ॥१४०॥

ज्ञाते ज्ञातिनः<sup>२०</sup> ॥१४१॥

दण्डनीतिकोविदाः ॥१४२॥

वेतायां कर्मणः नीतिविशारदाः ॥१४३॥

द्वापरे तान्त्रकानुसारा घनारसाश्च<sup>२१</sup> ॥१४४॥

नीतिकोविदाश्च ॥१४५॥

तिष्ठे पादे ज्ञानकर्णी घना दण्डनीतिकोविदा नराः ॥१४६॥

वदुचरं विरुद्धधर्मवर्णवेषा दण्डनीतिवर्जिताः ॥१४७॥

पश्चन्ति प्रजा अनृतवादतत्पराश्वेताह[ १६ क ]आचार्याः<sup>२२</sup>

॥१४८॥

इति वार्षस्पत्यसूत्रे तृतीयोऽभ्यासः ॥

६४. Sic (masc.) 63. W द्वापरिः । , ० W here inserts  
कृतपालनवैः । . sic (read ओ ?) 72. Sic (read ओ ?) 73. ऋषिः ।

## [ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः । ]

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ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थानम् ॥१॥

धर्ममर्थञ्च चिन्तयेत् ॥२॥

<sup>९</sup> कुकुटशब्दं शुभम् ॥३॥

गजादिर्दर्शनञ्च ॥४॥

गजशब्दमङ्गलस्तुतिवेदपाठनञ्च ॥५॥

देवतापुण्यकथा च ॥६॥

राजन्यस्मरणञ्च ॥७॥

नेत्राञ्जनञ्च ॥८॥

आदर्शदर्शनञ्च ॥९॥

अलङ्कारयेत् ॥१०॥

ताम्बूलचर्वणं च ॥११॥

कर्पूरचन्दनागस्थूपञ्च ॥१२॥

शाङ्काहलविषाणां<sup>२</sup> छिन्नवेणुवीणातन्त्री<sup>३</sup> मृदङ्गपणवाः ॥१३॥

तृष्णोषाश्च ॥१४॥

दिव्यप्रमदादर्शनं च ॥१५॥

[ १६ ख ] मागधभिन्नषहजं च ॥१६॥

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1 W कुकुटे शब्दम् (Sic neut) 2 M ऋग्वाणः ।  
3 M W ऋतवाणी । 4 W ऋश् ।

जातिस्वरं च ॥१७॥

सर्णिषि सितपुष्पाणि ॥१८॥

मन्त्रतुसो वह्निः शतार्चिर्विष्टुलिङ्गधूमयुक्तो भवति ॥१९॥  
तदथुभं गवां संदर्शनम् ॥२०॥

गृध्रसंदर्शनं च ॥२१॥

सन्ध्याज्वलनं च ॥२२॥

विरुद्धशिवारुतं च ॥२३॥

क्रव्यादमृगाणां शब्दो ग्रामपुरद्वारे वा श्रृयते ॥२४॥

देवताप्रतिमास्वेदच्च यस्मिन्दृश्यते तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र  
यानमेव प्रतिकारो नास्ति ॥२५॥

अवश्यनिरूपणीयान्येतानि कर्माणि ॥२६॥

मन्त्रमू[१७ क]लो विजयः ॥२७॥

त्रिविधाः पुरुषाः उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥२८॥

मन्त्रेऽपि ॥२९॥

वन्धुभिर्बान्धवैर्हितैर्बहुश्रुतैर्धारैः सह यत् कर्मारभते तदु-  
क्तमध् ॥३०॥

धर्मद्विधिं गुरौ भक्तिभ्य ॥३१॥

शर्यपरैः सह मन्त्रायेत्वा य आरभते स उत्तमः ॥३२॥

5 W व्याख्या। 6. W व्याख्या। 7 W व्याख्या। 8. W अवश्यमिति।  
9. W मन्त्रो। 10 W here inserts देव। 11 W अवश्यम्।

गुणदोषागमं निधित्य मौख्यवाहुल्याद् य आरभते सोऽध्यमः ॥३३॥

ऐकमत्येन दगडनीतिनेत्रेण धीरैर्मित्रभिर्योमन्मः स उत्तमः ॥३४॥

पूर्वं बहुबुद्यः पश्चादेकमतयो भवान्ति यत्र स मध्यमः ॥३५॥

[१७स्व]यत्र कलहम्भर्त्सनं च एकस्य धर्मे एकस्यार्थे स्त्रीवास दृद्धैः सह एकस्य रुदितमेकस्यक्रोधो यस्मिन् सोऽध्यमः ॥३६॥  
पूर्वं स्वामिना कार्यनिवेदनम् ॥३७॥

युनर्वचसा कर्मणा मनसाज्जलिना दगडप्रसारेन यथागुरुतं स्वामिनमभिवन्दयेत् ॥३८॥

वृद्धो वैश्रवणो वाचस्पतिर्वा यस्यान्नं नाभुजते तं बन्देत् ॥३९॥  
यत्पुनर्यथाक्रमयैकस्य मतं श्रोतव्यम् ॥४०॥

स्वामिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्पयितव्यम् ॥४१॥

पूर्वं स्वामि[१८क]गुणं संकीर्त्य स्वामिदोषं परदोषं च  
मध्यस्थदोषं च मन्त्रायित्वा पुनः स्वामिगुणसंस्थापनं कुर्यात् ॥४२॥

12 M मौख्यात् वाहुलाचा, W मौख्या वाहुलाचा । 13 Sic (neut.) 14 W भद्रतम् । 15 M ऋणामौ, see introduction, notes at the end. 16 M यस्याना । 17-17. W omits.

उनः कार्यागयुपायानि निरूप्य स्वाभिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्प-  
यितव्यम् ॥४३॥

प्रमत्तेष्वभियुक्तेषु दैवोपहतेषु च न सिध्यन्ति विक्रमाः ॥४४॥  
अप्रयत्नं धर्मज्ञं जितेन्द्रियं विजिगीषु वलिषु जातकोपं दुराधर्षं  
प्रति विक्रमो न कार्यः ॥४५॥

शास्त्रवित् कथं कार्यं न प्रजानातीति न वदेत् ॥४६॥

वलिष्ठान् शत्रून् कामादीत् ये जयन्ति ते सर्वानरीञ्जयन्ति ॥४७॥

[१८ख] पूर्वमुपकारं न कार्येत् ॥४८॥

उपकारं नियतं कुर्याच्च ॥४९॥

नाभाविव्यसनं पूर्वं ज्ञात्वा व्यसनप्रतीकारं कार्यमिति गुरु-  
राह ॥५०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे चतुर्थोऽध्याय ।

18 *Sic* (neut.) M W 19 W ऋ । 20 W ऋ । 21  
M interpolates not here, but after शत्रू । 22 W omits  
त । 23 *Sic* (neut.)

## [पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।]

चत्वार उपायाः ॥१॥

त्रयश्च ॥२॥

मायोपेक्षा वथश्च ॥३॥

सूरीषु साम ॥४॥

शङ्कितेषु सामभेदौ ॥५॥

लुब्धेषु सामदानभेदाः ॥६॥

कष्टेषु सामभेददानमायोपेक्षावधाः ॥७॥

साम पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥८॥

[९ ईक] मनसोऽभिप्राय वाचः प्रीतिकर्म च ॥९॥

ज्ञातीना ज्ञातयो व्यसने हृष्यऽन्ति ॥१०॥

ज्ञातिं ज्ञातयः प्रच्छुभृहृदयाः कृरा उपद्रवन्ति ॥११॥

सर्वभयेषु ज्ञातिभय घोरम् ॥१२॥

गोषु पयः ब्राह्मणे कोपश्च ॥१३॥

स्त्रीषु चापल दूरत्वं ज्ञातिषु सौहृदं पत्रजलविन्दुवत् ॥१४॥

हितं गुरुजनवाक्यं शास्त्रचोदितं च ये न शृणवन्ति कालचो-

दित्मः तस्मात् तान् सुपरिहृत्यान्यत्र वसेत् ॥१५॥

1 W ऋशा । 2 W oमा । 3 Sic ( neut ) 4. W oम्यां ।

5 W स्स । 6 W तपश् । 7 W पश्चपत्र० । 8 M पकं

लोकविरुद्धं नाचरेत् ॥१६॥

मन्त्र[ ७८ ]विद्यागुणपदमेषु ग्रहान् वान्धवान् कुशलादन्यन्त्र  
न कार्यं व्यसनानि <sup>१०</sup> च ॥१७॥

दुर्जनं परिहृत्य वक्तव्यं विद्यायुक्तोऽपि गृहाहिरित ॥१८॥

शशुपत्रादागतं न विश्वसेत् ॥१९॥

गुणतः संगृहीयात् <sup>१२</sup> ॥२०॥

भावैः परित्तियेत् ॥२१॥

वीरणसारैः सह साम <sup>१३</sup> ज्ञायते बुद्धिमविज्ञाने सहसा परीक्ष  
[२० क]येत् ॥२२॥

<sup>१४</sup> इक्किंतर्षातुं शक्यते ॥२३॥

प्रसन्नो न ॥२४॥

अशाकुत्तमातिःः स्वस्थः ॥२५॥

अकोपनश्च वालादयोऽपि विवृणवन्ति हि तम् <sup>१५</sup> ॥२६॥

9. W मन्त्रमविं । 10. Text corrupt in this *Sutra* ?

11. पूहानित् । 12. W here inserts दोषो न निष्पत्य संगृहीयात् ।

13-13 W वीराज् । १४ रेस्सहसा मा Read वीरोऽसारैः सहसा न ?

For अ ( ओ ) and औ ( ओ ) see introduction's end 14 •ते ।

15. W विद्य० । 16 M तत् ।

स्वकुलस्य विनाशं ज्ञात्वा बुद्धिमाँस्तत्र शङ्खपद्मपि न युक्तं  
माश्रयेत् ॥२७॥

हृदये यथावच्छुभाशुभं पूर्वं उदोते न दुष्टाचारः सर्वत्र  
कारयेत् ॥२८॥

चपला न बहुमान्याः ॥२९॥

इत्याहाचार्यो वृहस्पतिः ॥३०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे पञ्चमोऽध्याय ।

17 ओलस्यापि न० । 18 Read नययुक्तम् ?19. w उदयति ।

## [ षष्ठोऽध्यायः । ]

[२० स्व] देशकालयोग्य कर्म नयानयौ च वेदयेत् ॥१॥  
 विपरीतं न वेदवीर्यदर्पेण ॥२॥  
 हितानि निरूपयेत् ॥३॥  
 नपो मन्त्रभिर्निरूप्य कार्यते ॥४॥  
 बुद्धिजीवैरमात्यैः सह कार्यमकार्यं च निरूपयेत् ॥५॥  
 अहितं विकारं यस्य प्रतिभाति स मन्त्रयोग्यः ॥६॥  
 अर्थमार्जयेत् ॥७॥  
 यस्यार्थराशिरसि तस्य मित्राणि धर्मश्च विद्या च गुणाविक्रमो  
 च बुद्धिश्च ॥८॥  
 अधनेना [२१ क] र्थमार्जयितुं न शक्यते गजोऽगजेनेव ॥९॥  
 धनमूलं जगत् ॥९०॥  
 सर्वाणि तत्र सन्ति ॥९१॥  
 निर्धनो मृतश्चण्डालश्च ॥९२॥  
 एवं धर्ममूलं च विद्यामार्जयेत् ॥९३॥  
 विद्यामूलं जगत् ॥९४॥  
 विद्या पुनः सर्वमित्राह शुरुः ॥९५॥  
 इति वार्षस्पत्यसूत्रे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

1 W कार्यक० । 2 Read अहितमपि कार्यम् । 3 M गञ्जं  
 ग०, W उंग

## *BRIHASPATI SŪTRA*

Now the *Brihaspati Sūtra*

Now Brihaspati,\* the Preceptor, expounds to India  
the Whole Substance of Policy.

### I (PERSONAL CONDUCT)

- 1 Self-mastery is the quality of a king
- 2 As minister he should appoint one master of himself
- 3 His sole science is the Administration of Punishment [=Government]
- 4 Even right he should not practise when disapproved by the world
- 5 Should he practise it, it should be after recommending it by persons of intelligence.
- 6 He is to be served by his like.
- 7 With women, children or the aged, he should not discuss measures of right and policy.
- 8 He should not engage in magic shows [*indrajāla*],
- 9 In incantations [*mantras*], however, and festivities;
- 10 Also in counteracting diseases and poisonings.
- 11 Not smearing with ashes [like an ascetic].

\*Concerning Brihaspati as founder of the Science of Policy see the Introduction.

3 On the question of the king's sciences see *Arthashastra*, c. 1.

6 On this question of choice of ministers etc. see *Arthashastra*, cc. 4-5, also 80 *infra*.

10 On poison in the palace see *Arthashastra*, c. 17.

12 Also not sacrifice [*agnihotra*], Veda-reading,  
and so forth

13 Not processions to sacred places

14 Also not service of a king

15 Nor service of women

16 He should not drink intoxicants

17 Nor slay a Brâhman

18 Nor practise theft.

19 Nor much indulge in garlands and unguents

20 He should not be dejected.

21 Nor over wrathful.

22 What is called non-giving is given on a wrong  
occasion.

23 In a (true) field he should have seed sown

24 Giving should be practised

25 Aversion therefrom is greed

26 Theft is also greed

27 Pleasure is a cause of expenditure of means.

28 A will to hurt gurus, gods, wise men, kings,  
and so forth is anger,

29 And it is a smiting of one's own head

30 An enemy equal, in forces and so forth he  
should slay in war,

31 Other adversaries [*or*] If attacking others,  
then] by conciliation, gifts, dissension, pretended  
ignoring, and so on.

32 He should not have sordid dress.

22 Text and translation uncertain More intelligible  
would be *atishaye danam* ‘giving on a wrong occasion is  
called non-giving’

81 I translate *anyabheyodhinah*.

82 So he should never be in deshabille.

33 And he should not practise over-indulgence in hunting

34 From over attachment to women ill-repute grows,

35 And vitality wastes.

36 In association with those guilty of gaming, provoking others, abusing others, the weaknesses of others ( are exposed) along with the words of *mantras* in learned or frivolous play (?).

37 Taking of medicine, evacuation of urine and faeces, bathing, teeth-cleaning, enjoyment of copulation, worship of divinities,—these also are to be done in private

38 A sham professor of virtue he should not trust;

39 Nor censure either.

40 Nor upon seeing mad or stupid persons, and so forth, should he laugh at them

41 His sport in private should be with those of like character and age.

42 Elephant and horse sports in public, not with creatures of two (different) kinds.

43 And he should not harm living beings of his own kind

44 Desire should be felt for superiority to prede-

36 Rendering conjectural. Are the *mantras* quasi oaths ?

40 So also in the *Shukra-nitis* 280 ‘The miserable, the blind, the dwarf, and the dumb are never to be laughed at.’

42 Contests of dissimilar animals are here, it seems, denounced. Or we might take *rahasya* from 41 and, reading *tadvimūrtam*, render ‘Elephant and horse sports in private; in public those with other species.’ This is less likely.

teachers and successors in respect of wealth, popularity, nobility, and magnanimity.

45 Traditional right, goodwill of dependents, and councillors, relatives, friends, kinsmen, he should all alike consider;

46 In respect of dependents, punishment and largesse, within and without,

47 In respect of councillors, conciliation, dissension, and largesse,

48 In respect of relatives, allotments of income for the sake of conciliation, dissension, largesse

49 To even an unwelcome speech he should listen.

50 In bad weather, when the planets are hostile, at the *nakshatra* of three birthdays, and when serious business presents itself he should not attend to festivities.

51 He should attach to himself a wife of the same country, of the same form, and of noble birth.

52 He should cause especially dissensions (among the wives), excessive conciliation, excessive largesse are not to be practised, nor punishment to be used towards women, nor pretended inobsevance.

53 Among them he should not say much.

54 Among village petitioners, panegyrists, bards, minstrels, actors, dancing-women, instructors, hars, boys, pimps, traders, herdsmen, harlots, mean kings, he is to be addressed in pompous untruths

46 'Within and without' - sc. the capital

50 'Three birthdays' - perhaps his own, that of his father, and that of his grandfather.

51 'Of the same form' (*ekarupini*) - perhaps = 'of the same caste' (*ekavarna*)

55 Association with kings, harlots, soothsayers, and dependents he should not indulge in long.

56 He should frequent one whose superiority is in himself,

57 Prospects and so forth [he should regard] not overmuch

58 Those attached to women, gambling, drinking he should not have in his service.

59 During five *nâdikâs* prayer to the divinity of his choice, that passed, the audience,

60 During ten *nâdikâs*, administration of justice, during five *nâdikâs* the bath,

61 During three *nâdikâs* the repast,

62 During five *nâdikâs* amusement and play with dear ones,

63 During two *nâdikâs* twilight worship,

64 During seven *nâdikâs* nautch and so forth,

65 During seven *nâdikâs* sexual intercourse, repast, and so forth,

66 During seven *nâdikâs* sleep

67 He should rule himself without failure of vigilance,

68 Like the driver of a horse.

69 High Brâhmans [he should greet] with a shake of his head, welcome and giving of leavings and betel,

56 Or 'his own lord.'

59-66 On the disposition of a king's time see *Arthashastra*, c. 16, and Prof. Formichli, *Gk. Indians &c.*, pp 66 sqq. A *nâdika* =  $\frac{1}{2}$  *muhurta* = 24 minutes.

68 'Shaking of the head' on this as a sign of approval see the passages quoted by me in *Kavindra-vanaramayaya* ad v. I.

70 A mean Brâhman not with a shake of the head, even if he brings a present,

71 A like prince or emperor with welcome, with a seat, with a shake of the head, with gift of betel and with jocular talk,

72 Men of the three castes with a smile, with welcome, and audience (?),

73 Shûdras not with a glance or smile nor with welcome,

74 Children, the aged, and so forth, with giving of something which they like,

75 Low-caste [ Foreign ? ] people and heretics not even with an utterance.

76 Owing to importance of business he may have recourse to them,

77 Let him say little, however, and assign the employment

78 Let him not accept fine gold [ or receive men of the (3) castes] in private

79 With workmen, even in his employ, let him not deliberate upon the task

80 With his friends let him choose a like friend as councillor,

81 But if low-born, he must be one having not low-born caste.

82 Low-born persons have the characteristic of not mentioning their own objects and of executing orders.

83 So he should not over-cherish them.

84 Nor again should he trust them

72 'Audience' I translate asthanena, but the text is corrupt.

78 Varnika-parigraha . Read varnuka-parigraha ?

79 'Even in his employ' so translate yoginah ?

85 Knowing all, he need not act

86 Secrecy in regard to night, secrecy in regard to home and going abroad, secrecy in regard to measures, secrecy in regard to enmities, in failure of prestige he should deny even the truth

87 Physicians, astrologers, soothsayers he should entertain, if possessed of conduct and character

88 Even the truth, if causing grief or misfortune, he should not speak

89 Up to twenty-five years he should passionately practise the study of sport

90 Thenceforward acquisition of wealth

91 He should keep himself free from indebtedness

92 Indebted he becomes by three means, pleasure, anger, and greed

93 And he should continually guard his person

94 He should not neglect the regular rites

95 If there is a popular clamour, he may omit a minor rite

96 Upon a lost cause let him not stand,

97 Fail to be avoided then is even a serious matter of sovereignty

98 He should not favour new commanders who are *Kusumāntas*

99 A slight loss is to be borne

100 As with families of elephants, bandits, noxious serpents, and tigers living in forest or cemetery among

98 *Kusumentas* this word, which recurs in *sutra* 105, is quite mysterious (? = *Pallava*, or *pallava*, i e *rata* ?).

99 The meaning seems to be that a commander should not be dismissed for a slight failure.

100 The idea seems to be that of the nursery rhyme

those who in comparison therewith are inoffensive  
feuds of kinsmen are not to be engaged in.

101 Like dogs with one piece of flesh is that estate  
of sovereignty, when the sovereignty is in trouble

102 Policy truly is like a tree on a river's bank

103 So he is not to desire [ it ]

104 *Kusundantas* and so forth are inimical to all  
creatures

105 Prestige, vigour, vitality, greatness—these  
are destroyed by excessive cultivation of *Kusumântas*

106 Desire, anger, conceit, jealousy, hypocrisy,  
and so forth he should not encourage.

107 An enemy of good character is a friend

108 Among friends one of good character is an enemy.

109 Between moon and sun there is hostility by  
reason of their common brightness (tastes)

110 Were it not so, they would both stand fast

111 Where there is feud among relatives, those  
two families perish to the root

112 Whoso abandons the science of awarding  
punishment, helpless he like a moth enters the flame all  
unwittingly.

So speaks the holy Preceptor, guru of the chief of  
the Gods.

So in the *Brihaspati Sûtra* the First Chapter.

\* Let dogs delight &c \* With the reading • kids we should render  
‘he dwells as it were in a family’

101 *Sivam*: ‘Dog’ probably means, more exactly ‘pack of  
dogs’ cf. *a shva* and Panini iv 2.48

103, 110 We might translate ‘If between sun and moon  
there was hostility .. , they would not continue’.

## 11 (DUTIES AND PRINCIPLES)

- 1 Sovereignty belongs to one possessing advantages.
- 2 There is advantage of knowledge, advantage of wealth, and advantage of comrades.
- 3 Gratification of his own family also and protection of usage,
- 4 Agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade.
- 5 Universally the Lokâyata system of doctrine is alone to be followed at the time of acquiring gain,
- 6 Only the Kâpâlika as regards attainment of pleasure,
- 7 The Ârhata in regard to right.
- 8 The Lokâyata is not really profitable (?), the advantage quickly perishes
- 9 So the Kâpâlika, the Ârhata, and the Buddha.
- 10 On these relying, he is like the moth and the fire.
- 11 The fruits are like ear-water [or water in the ear ?].

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1 Guna is here used in an untechnical sense ('strong point')

4 The *Arthashastra* mentions ( c 1 ) the same three matters (*krishi*, *pashupalya*, and *baniyya*) as the components of *varita*, or business, one of the studies of a king

5 The *Lokayata* doctrine, along with *Sankhya* and *Yoga*, makes up the triad of philosophy in the *Arthashastra* ( c 1 ).

6 Elsewhere the Kapalikas are a Shaiva sect . see the St Petersburg lexicon and ref

8-35 These *Sutras*, which seem at variance with the preceding, and which betray a strong sectarian bias, may be suspected of being an interpolation. No. 36 joins on well to No.7.

11 'Ear-water' . is thus a synonym of 'sky-flower, &c. as 'nonentity' ? or 'water in the ear' /sc not in the mouth or only heard of ?

12 When one characterized by ignorance desires in a matter connected with right to effect a human object, then he is a heretic entitled *Laukāyatika*

13 When a *Candala* is desirous of enjoying fine drink, flesh, and so forth, then he is a heretic entitled *Kāpalika*

14 When abandoning twilight worship and so forth, sacrifice and so forth, he desires the duty of non-killing, then he is a *Kshapanaka* heretic.

15 When, abandoning the rites described in the *Veda*, and knowledge of them, also *Shiva*, the Lord of All, *Vishnu*, and *Shri*, a man declares that all is void, then he is a heretic entitled *Baudhha*

16 When he declares right to be vain, a means to gain, he is a *Laukavatika*, and he declares that the *pinda* and so on are theft

17 He does all for profit, sacrifice, twilight prayer, and so forth

18 To conceal his failing, one afflicted with desire studies the *Veda*,

19 He performs sacrifices and so forth

20 He does it with a view to drinking wine, with a view to intercourse with women

21 He says *Vishnu* and the others are wine-drinkers —so the *Kāpālika*

14 *Kshapanaka* = Jain.

15 'Knowledge' read *karmijatam* 'mass of rites'?

16 *Pinda* the reference seems to be to the food offered to the dead the custom was ridiculed by the followers of *Brihaspata*, as appears from the *Carvaka*, or *Lokayata*, chapter in the *Sarva-darshana-saṅgraha*.

22 The Kshapanaka, aiming at right, speaks of right as depending on the bearing of rags and broom :

23 He speaks of Shiva and so on,—so the Kshapanaka

24 With a view to abuse of others he studies Veda, *Shâstî a*, right and so forth

25 He reproaches all,

26 Even Maheshvara, Vishnu and so forth,

27 He also speaks of right with a view to eating;

28 For the sake of discussion he praises others—this is the Bauddha

29 The Laukâyatîka, when dead, is a denizen of hell, extern to profit, pleasure, right, and liberation

30 And the same applies to his family, that family perishes within the period of sons and grandsons

31 The Kâpâli, abandoned by his village, household, and relatives, becomes a denizen of hell, denounced by all people :

32 And at that very time his family perishes

33 The Kshapanaka is denounced by his family, and those who live in the village, and three families perish

34 The Bauddha becomes a very detested denizen of hell, and his existing family perishes, or in the time of sons and grandsons.

35 Connection with heretics of this sort he should not have, even in thought.

36 Even by one whose counsels are well ordered,

22 The “broom” is the brush of twigs which the Jain ascetics carry in order to brush away insects

34 The Sanskrit sentence is here confused : but the meaning is clear

36 [Not] we may, if we prefer, read *adharmaikena*. This Sutra connects well with No 7

who discerns the weak points of others, and who is [not?] a man of virtue, sovereignty cannot be preserved.

37 One infatuated with the conceit of power, filled with greed and pride, loses what has been acquired.

38 Whoso, after reflecting upon his measures, enjoys himself, he achieves the highest success

39 He must so do that by his action he is not known by the world as 'knowing what to do, bent upon profit,' or as 'a man of righteousness'.

40 Like Ishvara, like Moon and Sun

41 Counsel is the action of effecting unity of opinion on the part of persons conforming to a master's mind.

42 A councillor must speak of measures, regardless of his master's preference

43 The fruit of policy is attainment of right, advantage, and pleasure.

44 Pleasure and advantage are to be tested by right,

45 Right by right;

46 Advantage by advantage;

47 Pleasure by pleasure,

48 Liberation of the soul by liberation.

49 Injunction of a guru is to be executed, even when at variance with right, as the marriage of the Pāndavas, Arjuna's asceticism, Vyāsa's intercourse with a widow, the begetting of Karna, Rāma's punishment of a mother and so on

40 'Like Ishvara'. his motives must be inscrutable.

49 The references are to well-known stories in the Mahabharata.

50 Even a son, at variance with policy, is an enemy

51 The young, the vicious, reckless, unacquainted with *shāstras*, he should not admit to counsel

52 Dull - witted, immoral, violent, thoughtless, irascible, foolish young men are not to be employed in counsel

53 Let all jewels even be given to preserve one's own purpose, life, and prestige

54 During counsel he should not not evoke anger

55 Right is the main factor , not personal objects,

56 Happiness unrighteously enjoyed is no friend.

57 Maintenance of position is [ or and ] enhancement.

58 Like one who eats what is not wholesome but is on good terms with [or as taking a precaution against, *Pratikṛīra*] death,

A man true to his word, relying upon the *Shāstras*, might even dry the ocean

59 If he is angry [ his dependents ] become discouraged and timid.

60 One bad man ruins many

61 Fate depends upon manhood.

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51 We translate *mantri na prāeshayet*

53 The 'jewels' are the various 'treasures' of a king, his wife, minister, general and so forth

57 I translate *sthitir vardhanam* reading *sthitivardhanam*, we might render '[ he should aim at ] enhancement of his actual position' or '.. conservation and enhancement '

58 The idea may be that of fortifying oneself against poison.

61 A common sentiment of *Shukra-mī*, 1.95-6

62 Whoso loves his own wife and in taming himself has capacity, is without equal

63 A good man turns not aside through fear

64 What at that time is proper is not to be spoken by friends not conversant with matters of speech

65 One of arrogant heart, lost to respect for right, not self-controlled, he could not admonish

66 when exhausted with frightful acts, sunk in the sleep of ignorance, he should enlighten the fool with the cool airs of righteous speeches

67 Among bad men a good man shines forth like the sun

68 Those committed to unrighteousness he should check by proper conduct

69 In unrighteousness he should not involve himself

70 In ill-repute he should not involve himself

71 He should not slay

72 Let a fool be restrained, like an elephant, with the hook of righteous reading

73 A guru's word is not to be transgressed, if in accordance with reason

74 Even a guru, if not equipped with policy, he should disregard.

75 A guru says it

So in the *Brihaspati Sūtra* the Second Chapter

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### III ( VIDYĀ )

1 Manliness is the quality of one superior to weakness

2 One becomes superior to weakness by residence in other countries

3 Of all powers, times, countries, conciliations, natures, strengths, exercises, ages knowledge is to be acquired

4 Also endurance of fasting and so forth.

5 He should make treasures with fragrances and robes.

6 A long conversation he should hold only if a gracious one

7 All his like-minded 'jewels' he should ever seek to please

8 He should know new mantas

9 These are threefold Shākta, Vaishnava, Shaiva and their further divisions

10 Entrance to the city of Liberation is by three:

11 Shākta, Vaishnava, Shaiva

12 The Shākta is like a journey in a vessel,

13 The Vaishnava like a high road ,

14 That which believes in *Kerala* and *Priadhāna* is like a horse chariot ,

15 The Laukāyatika, Kshapanaka, Baiddha and so forth are like a cavernous route through a desolate forest swarming with many tigers and malignant beasts.

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9—16 Again apparently a sectarian insertion

cf ad II 8, III 83

14 This is the Shuva system · see *Sarvadarshana samgraha*, c. VI.

16 Having marked this, let him have recourse to one

17 Let him ever mark the aspect of the lord of lights ( the moon ? )

18 And let him defend the order of four castes

19 And let him make use of medicines ,

20 These which fortify strength, complexion, energy, self-esteem, intelligence, courage, compassion, and reduce the faulty humours

21 Let him procure success by gifts, honours, ornaments, and sciences

22 Let him watch the eighteen *Tirthas*

23 *Tirthas* are the six constituents of royalty, also enemy, friend, and neutral

24 Also intestine enemy, intestine friend, intestine neutral, and these are dependents, companions, and friends.

25 Also wives, sons, and kinsmen

26 Others also [ to be watched ] are temples, places for dances and.

27 sacrifices, twilight, pools, cross-roads, heretic abodes, shops, schools for the young, parade-grounds, fields, new-moon etc festivals, harlots' houses, the sea-shore, presence of ascetics, frontiers, places for sale of liquor, serais for travellers

22 *Tirtha* . a technical term in the Science of Policy for the important personalities in the kingdom. The use is somewhat peculiar in 23.

23 The constituents ( *prakriti* ), as usually enumerated, are king, minister, country, fortress, treasury, army, and friend: see *Arthashastra*, c. 93, and *Formichi*, op. cit, p. 92.

27 'Twilight-pools' would be places for performing twilight worship.

28 Let him have festive attire  
 29 At the city gate let there be a general stoppage.  
 30 However, let him not exclude all.  
 31 Let him honour *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*,  
 32 And expositions thereof.  
 33 And the *Shākta* scriptures.  
 34 And the *Vārkhāṇas* scriptures,  
 35 And the *Sāṅkhya*,  
 36 And the *Shaiva*.  
 37 As regards all these, let him perform and require the due study.  
 38 A Brāhmaṇa let him not slay, even if infected with faults.  
 39 To the unmerciful [ no ] mercy should be shown.  
 40 Let him show respect to village headmen  
 41 Also to city magnates.  
 42 Let him conciliate even the weak.  
 43 By largesse much  
 44 Not also with little.  
 45 In the case of excellent persons not in the order of the plenitude of their merits.  
 46 Let him play with dice :  
 47 Also [ Or ] let him not play at all  
 48 Serpents and so forth let him slay.

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32 'Expositions' The word *pṛṣṭha* would seem to be a synonym for *pṛkti* in *janapṛkti*, *lōkapṛkti* 'teaching the people' : see *Shatapitha-Brahmana* XI 5 7 1.

38—7 These *sutras* are perhaps again an insertion : See Introduction and ad II. 8, III. 9.

39 Or "no mercy (*adaya*).

49 High Brâhmans, perfected by various *mantras*  
and rich in knowledge, let him honour

50 Brâhmans of other countries, *Kshatriyas*, princes,  
feudatories, and so forth let him welcome as if they  
were himself with viands, clothing, and so forth

51 A refugee, though qualified by all crimes, let  
him protect

52 Let him check the bad,

53 And protect the learned

54 Let him not oppress a village

55 Or a city

56 Or temples

57 Let him make use of fermented liquors ,

58 Not in excess, however

59 Also flesh food

60 Compassion to life must be shown

61 The Bauddha way and so forth not

62 Nor as regards imperceptible ( creatures ).

63 Gay ladies are to be used

64 The earth has a measure of fifty kiores of  
*yojanas*

65 And it has seven continents

66 And is girt with seven seas

67 *Karma, Bhoga, Atibhoga, Divya, Shringâra,*

61 The Buddhists and Jains especially denounce killing  
in sacrifice

62 'Imperceptible' apparently a reference to the Jain  
precautions against killing small creatures.

67 These names, as applied to the seven *dvips*, do not  
seem to occur elsewhere but *Bhûrîta Vîrsava* is *karma-bhumi* in  
the *Vishnu-purana*, II. 3. 2.

*Siddha* and *Kairalya* are the designations of the continents

68 The midmost is the Land of Action (*Karma*)

69 What is in the middle thereof, as far as the Jambu tree, belongs to Meru

70 Therein to the north is Hūmvat

71 On the south of that is land of nine thousand (*yojanas*).

72 Therein to the south is Bhārata Khanda

73 There the fruits of righteousness and unrighteousness have their visible effect.

74 In relation thereto is the administration of punishment.

75 It is to be studied by the people of Bhārata, past, future, and present and by men of the four castes

76 By administration of punishment the holy Sun is king :

77 And Wind and all the gods

78 And mortal creatures.

79 From Badarikā to [ Rāma's ] Bridge is a distance of one thousand *yojanas*

80 From Dvārkā as far as Purushottama and the

70 'On the north' . This cannot mean on the north of Meru or of Jambudvīpa, which would be contrary to the ordinary view . it must, therefore, mean 'starting with the north' of India.

71 'Nine thousand' . The usual estimate, as in the *Vishnu-Purana* II. 3. 2.

79 'One thousand' . The same estimate is given by the *Vayu-Purana* see Wilson's note in *Vishnu-P.* (ed Hall, II p 127).

80 The *Purushottama-kshetra* is in Orissa, and the

**Shālagrāma** is a distance of seven hundred *yojanas*

81 In this area also are the seven Great Mountains, Raivataka, Vindhya, Sahya, Kumāra, Malaya, Shriparvata, Pāriyātra

82 And the Great Rivers, Ganga, Sarasvatī, Kālindī, Godāvari, Kāverī, Tāmrapaṇī, Ghūtamālā

83 And eighteen countries

84 Eighteen are the maritime kings

85 And eighteen the hill kings

86 The creation of Rāma consists of one hundred and forty (*yojanas*?) on the south and north, as far as the Sahya twelve, that of Vishvāmitra eleven

87 Nepal one hundred and four

88 On the shore of the eastern sea

From Varuna to the sea is a space of eight *yojanas*.

*shalagrama-ksh* is supposed to be on the river G.undak see Wilson's *Vishnu-P* (index)

82 'Great Rivers'. The word *lula nadi* does not seem to occur elsewhere. On the various lists of the chief rivers see Wilson's note, *Vishnu-P* II pp 131-2. The *Ghūtamāla* is, doubtless, Wilson's *Kritamāla*.

86 'The Creation of Rama' and 'the Creation of Vishvamitra'. The Epic story of Vishvamitra's attempt at a rival creation is well known, but the phrase *Vishvamitra-erishi* does not seem to occur in the literature. In the tradition of the pandits the idea is quite familiar, Vishvamitra being credited (like Ahriman among the Iranians) with the authorship of all faulty or misshapen and misbegotten things, such as the mirage.

The application of the numbers in this *sutra* is obscure. Is 'as far as the Sahya' = 'in breadth'?

88 The site of the *Varuna-kirtha* does not appear to be known.

89 Each one hundred and five are northern Lāta,  
And eastern Lāta

90 Kāshī and the Pāncāla country are together  
eighty ,

91 Kekaya and Sūnjava are sixty ,

92 The Matsya and Magadha country one hund-  
red ,

93 Mūlava and Shakunta eighty ,

94 Kosala and Avanti sixty ,

95 Saīhya and Vīraibha together two hundred ,

96 Videha and the Kuru country one hundred ,

97 Kārnboja and Dīshāvīna eighty

98 These are the great countries

99 These indeed are four-cornered

100 The Āratta and Bahlika country are from  
south to north one hundred, from east to west twelve

101 The Shūka and Suśhtia country are four-  
cornered and of forty

102 Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga are of one hun-  
dred and four-cornered

\* 103 Kāshmīr, the Huna and Ambashtha countries,  
and Sindh are of one hundred and four-cornered

104 The Kirāta, Sauvīra, Cola, and Pāndya coun-  
tries, situated on north and south are of one hundred  
increased by sixty.

89 sqq For other lists of countries and peoples see *Mahabharata*, *Bhishma-parvan*, IV.317-378, *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, II 3, *Varaha's Brhat-samhita*, XIV, *Garga-samhita* (*Janapada-tantra*).

98 Shakunta is not elsewhere known as name of a country or people.

103 The Hunas are, doubtless, those of Hundesh.

105 The Yâdava country and Kâuci are of one hundred and forty

106 These are minor countries

107 The seven Konkans are of one hundred and four, and the.. .

108 These are on the water

109 On mount Sahaya are four hill countries ,

110 On Śrîparvata two ,

111 On Raivataka one ,

112 On the Vindhya five ,

113 On Kumâra one ,

114 On Mahendra three,

115 On Pâriyâta three

116 All are equal, from south to north of fifty, from east to west of five *yojanas*

117 In the Mleccha region are Yavana countries, mountainous

118 The countries are adorned with villages, cities, gardens, and so forth, and with holy domains and so forth

119 Eight are the Vaishnava domains ,

120 Badarikâ, Shâlgrâma, Purushottama, Dvâraka, Bilvâcalâ, Ananta, Simha, Shîfranga

121 Eight the Shaiva ,

122 Avimuktaka, Gangâ-dvâra, Shiva-kshetra,

105 Yâdavas. Perhaps those of Devagiri.

107 For the 'seven' Konkans, see Wilson's *Vishnu purena* (ed. Hall n p. 178, n. 14)

119—127 Again an insertion?

120 Bilvâcalâ ..Simha : Perhaps the Bilvadri and Sumbacala of which *mahatmyas* exist.

Rame-Yamunâ (?), Shiva-sarasvati, Mâryâ, Shârdula,  
and Gâya kshetras

123 The Shâkta are also eight ;  
 124 Oghghîna Jâla, Pûna, Kâma, Kolla, Shri-shaila, Kâncî, Mahendra.  
 125 These are the great domains ;  
 126 And effective of all attainment ;  
 127 Also ineffective [ or to be worshipped ].  
 128 On the Vindhya dwells perpetually Durgâ,  
and Bhadiakâli ,  
 129 On Kumâra Kumâra dwells perpetually ,  
 130 On Sahya Ganapati ;  
 131 On Ruvataka the Teacher ,  
 132 On Mahendra Garuda ,  
 133 On Pânyâti a Kshetrapâla.  
 134 In the Land of Action, which is Bharata, the  
gods are many times as numerous as the men.  
 135 Gods, Demons, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Bhûtas,  
Pretas, Vinâyakas, Kûshmândas, those with distorted  
features  
 136 What they carry and their dress are deter-  
minate --  
 137 Friendly or Terrifying, Yagnis and Ndgas;  
they, assuming forms at will, consort in countless  
numbers with mankind.  
 138 And by men they may be protected  
 139 In that [Bharata country] are ambrosial herbs.

122 Avimuktaka Benares.  
 124 Oghghîna Ujjain ?  
 131 The Teacher Brihaspati.  
 133 Kshetrapala Shiva.

140 At this point the number of the ages, the *Krita*, *Treta*, *Dvapara*, and *Tishya*

141 In the *Krita* [ the creatures are ] possessed of knowledge ,

142 And versed in the administration of punishment ,

143 In the *Treta* they are active and skilled in policy

144 In the *Dvapara* they are followers of *Tantrikas* and of strong tastes,

145 And versed in policy

146 In the *Tishya* quarter men are strong in knowledge and action, and versed in the administration of punishment

147 After that they are of diverse rightfulness, colour, and dress, and void of the administration of punishment

148 And the peoples behold, intent upon false speaking Thus says the Preceptor.

So in the *Brihaspati Sutra* the third chapter.

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140 The *Mahabharata* also names the *Tishya* as the fourth age

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#### IV ( Omens and Counsel )

- 1 At the Brâhma hour the rising from sleep.
- 2 Let him consider right and interest.
- 3 The cry of the cock is auspicious
- 4 Also the sight of an elephant and so forth,
- 5 Also the sound of elephants, the chanting of auspicious praises, and Veda-recitation ;
- 6 Also holy talk of divinities ;
- 7 Also recollection of nobles ,
- 8 Also eye-collyrium
- 9 Also looking in a mirror.
- 10 Let him adorn [ himself ].
- 11 Also chewing of betel
- 12 Also camphor, sandal, incense of agallochum:
- 13 Conchs, *Kâhalas*, horns, cut reeds, guitars, harps, drums, kettle-drums
- 14 And noises of trumpets ;
- 15 Also seeing of divine women
- 16 Also the interrupted first note of the minstrel (?)
- 17 Also the sound of the *miti* melody ( or 'the cry of birth ' )
- 18 White flowers in liquid butter.
- 19 Fire satisfied with ~~mantras~~ becomes of one hundred flames, and attended with smoke having the sing of Vishnu
- 20 Then the spectacle of oxen is inauspicious

I The *Brahma muhurta* is the early morning see Weber *Indische Studien*, x p. 296, and *Aitareya Brahmana* II. 15.

4 The Greek writers mention the early morning salutation of an Indian king by an elephant (*Aelian*, XIII. c. 22).

12 Or 'incense of camphor, sandal, and agallochum'

21 Also the spectacle of vultures  
 22 Also a twilight blaze  
 23 Also the cry of quarreling jackals.  
 24 Or the sound of carnivorous beasts is heard at  
 the gate of village or city  
 25 Where also sweating of images of gods is per-  
 ceived, there departure to another place is the only  
 appeasement there is no remedy  
 26 Unavoidably to be observed are these acts  
 27 Victory is rooted in counsel  
 28 Men are of three kinds, best, worst and middle.  
 29 In counsel also [ is the same triplicity ]  
 30 That action is best which is undertaken in  
 company with connections, kinsmen, friends, the  
 learned, the thoughtful  
 31 And, when right is doubtful, devotion to a  
 guru  
 32 He is best who sets to after taking counsel  
 with men intent on advantage  
 33 If, after thinking out good and bad results, he  
 sets to through being overcome by folly, he is the  
 worst  
 34 That counsel is best which is taken unanimo-  
 usly, under the guidance of policy, by wise counsellors.  
 35 Where, at first of divers opinions, they are  
 afterwards unanimous, that is the middle

25 'Sweating of images' Cf. *Harsha-carita*, trans., p 147,  
 also Vergil's *et maestum illacrimat templis ebur aeraque sudant*  
*(Georg. I 480)*, and Milton's

'And the chill marble seems to sweat  
 'While each peculiar power forgoes his wonted seat'

36 Where there is broiling and reproach, one being for right, one for interest, along with women, children, and the aged, tears on the one part, anger on the other, that is the worst.

37 First the measure is introduced by the master

38 Then with voice, action, mind, salutation, and rigid prostration let them in order of dignity be made to salute the master

39 Let him salute him whose food Vaishravana or Vācaspati when old refuses not to eat.

40 For the rest the opinion of each in order is to be heard.

41 The measure is to be considered after placating the master

42 Having first extolled the master's strong points, and then weighed his master's weak points, the weak points of the adversary, and the weak points of the natural, let him again lay stress upon the master's strong points.

43 Having again described the measures and the means, and having placated the master, he is to consider the measure.

44 With careless, assailed, unfortunate persons warlike enterprises do not succeed

38 'Rigid prostration' The word *dandapranama* 'prostration with the body straight as a stick' occurs in the *Dashakumara-carita* see the St petersburg lexicon.

39 Vaisravana and Vācaspati are apparently named as types of king and Brahman Note the negative verb *abhunyate*.

42 *Guna* and *dosh* are here untechnical cf II 1.

45 Against a not careless, right-knowing person, a master of his senses, a conqueror, one angry against the powerful, and hard to assail wai like enterprise is not to be undertaken.

46 "One knowing the *Shāstras*, how does he not understand measures?" so let him not say

47 Those who conquer the strongest enemies, pleasure and so forth, they conquer all foes.

48 Let him not make the first advance in rendering services

49 Also let him certainly render service

50 As regards an unavoidable disaster, having discerned it in advance, let him provide remedy for the disaster

51 So says the Guru.

So in the *Bṛihaspatti Sūti a* the Fourth Chapter

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46 Let him not claim practical infallibility on the ground of learning

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V ( *Upayas* )

- 1 Four means
- 2 Also three
- 3 Also pretended oversight and slaying
- 4 In dealing with the bold conciliation ,
- 5 With the timid conciliation and division ,
- 6 With the greedy conciliation, largesse, and division .
- 7 With the vexatious conciliation, division, largesse, pretended oversight, and slaying.
- 8 Conciliation is to be set to work first
- 9 The purpose of the mind and also the friendly action of the voice
- 10 Relatives are pleased at the misfortune of relatives
- 11 Relatives, in their secret hearts malignant,take advantage of a relative
- 12 Among all dangers the danger of relatives is to be dreaded
- 13 In cows milk and in a Brahman anger [ are certain ] ,
- 14 In women fickleness, in kinsmen remoteness , friendship is like a drop of water upon a leaf
- 15 The friendly speech of elders, also inspired by *Shastras*, whoso heed not, are inspired by destiny :them, therefore, let him carefully avoiding dwell afar.
- 16 What is at variance with convention let him not practise

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I The four *upayas* are, of course, war, dissension, conciliation, and bribery.

• Kinsmen, crocodiles among lotuses of secret of mantras and sciences , not to act without good omens , and disasters (?)

18 It must be told with avoidance of the bad though possessed of knowledge, he is like a snake in the house

19 An adherent from the enemy's side one should not trust

20 According to merit let him enter into Asoka) in his service

21 Let him test by their sentiments

22 A hero is not quickly known by the weak  
intelligence let him promptly test in an unknown matter.

23 He may be known by his gestures

24 A composed person not

25 One whose mind is without apprehension is calm

26 And without anger for even children and so forth conceal that.

27 Upon learning the fall of his family a wise man under these circumstances would have recourse even to an enemy's side, if possessed of wisdom

28 Unfailingly in the heart the [ effects of ] former good and evil arise , [ so ] the bad man would not dare to act as such

29 The fickle are not to be highly honoured;

30 So says the Preceptor Brihaspati.

So in the *Brihaspati Sutra* the Fifth Chapter

17 The text is here corrupt, some proverbial expression apparently being involved. The import seems to be that counsel study, and secrets, also misfortunes, should not be incautiously spoken of.

<sup>9</sup> Accusative after *vi-swas*, as in 1. 88

Reading *vi-vi sharah sahasra na jnayate*

'Conceal' *vi-vi* may, it appears, sometimes have another sense.

27 Reading *nayayukt* in The meaning is, however, not clear.

## VI ( Naya )

- 1 He should get to know the action, ~~sustained~~ to place and time, also policy and impolicy
- 2 Not what is contrary to Veda, manliness, and pride.
- 3 Let him observe friendly acts
- 4 Policy is carried out after examination by counsellors
- 5 Let him examine what is to be done or ~~not~~ to be done in conjunction with counsellors living by their intellect.
- 6 Whoso can design even an unwelcome measure, he is to be employed in counsel
- 7 Let him acquire wealth.
- 8 Whoso has store of wealth, has friends and righteousness and knowledge and merit and prowess and intelligence
- 9 By one without riches riches cannot be acquired as an elephant by one without elephant
- 10 In riches is rooted the world.
- 11 And therein are all things
- 12 A man without riches is a dead man and *Candita*
- 13 Likewise let him acquire knowledge ~~the root~~ of righteousness.
- 14 In knowledge is rooted the world.
- 15 Knowledge again is all
- 16 So says the Guru.  
So in the *Bṛhmaṇa Sūtra* the Sixth Chapter.

<sup>8</sup> Reading *apikaryam* in place of *vikaram*. The sense would seem to be that one who would employ his intelligence in measures which he personally disliked would be a true counsellor.







